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**PRIVATE DIARIES OF THE RT. HON.  
SIR ALGERNON WEST, G.C.B.**

BY THE RIGHT HON.  
**SIR ALGERNON WEST**

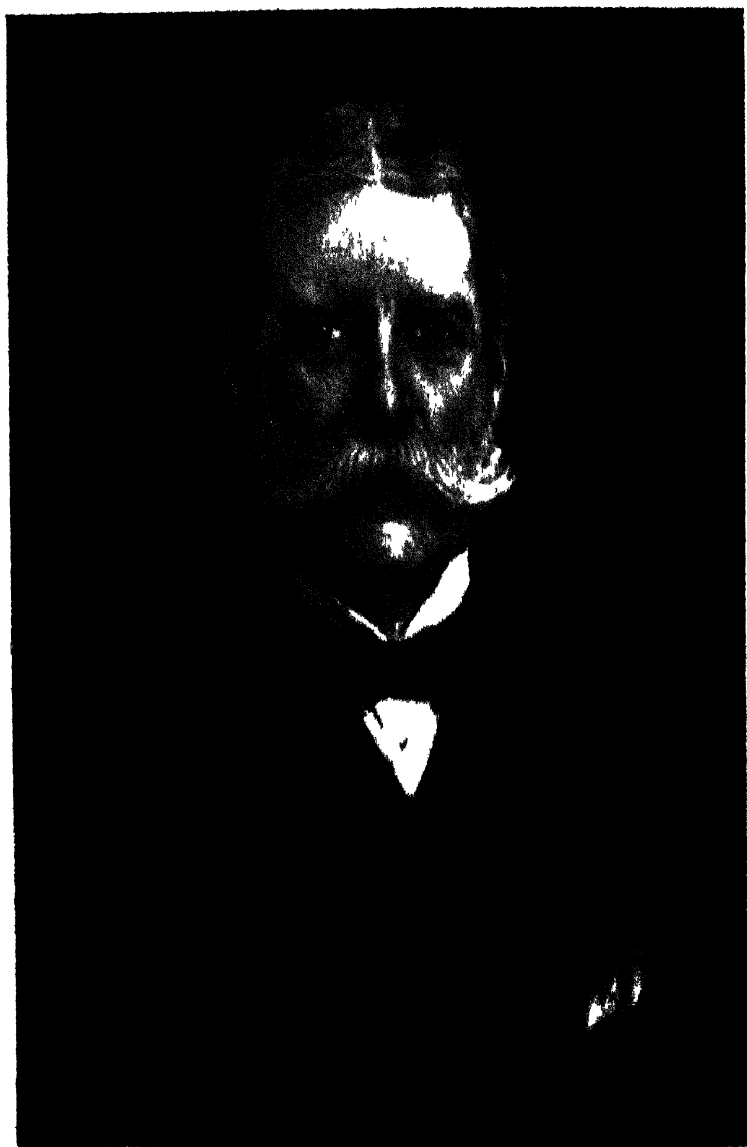
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**RECOLLECTIONS, 1832-1886**  
With Portraits and Sketches

**ONE CITY AND MANY MEN**  
With a Frontispiece

**MEMOIR OF SIR HENRY KEPPEL**  
With Portraits and Illustrations





*The R<sup>t</sup> Hon. Sir Algernon West G.C.B.  
from the portrait by Sir Hubert Herkomer R. A.*





**PRIVATE DIARIES  
OF THE RT. HON.  
SIR ALGERNON WEST, G.C.B.**

**"A GREVILLE—WITH A WARMER HEART"**

**EDITED BY HORACE G. HUTCHINSON**

**AUTHOR OF "THE FORTNIGHTLY CLUB,"  
"PORTRAITS OF THE EIGHTIES," ETC.**

**WITH PORTRAIT**

**LONDON  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.  
1922**



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## PREFACE

DEBRETTS'S *Peerage*, etc., informs us, under head of the Privy Council, that the Right Honourable Sir Algernon West, P.C., G.C.B., was born in 1832, son of Martin West; that he was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, was Private Secretary to Sir Charles Wood and Lord Ripon at the India Office and to Mr. Gladstone when First Lord of the Treasury, sometime Deputy Director of Indian Military Funds, a Commissioner of Board of Inland Revenue 1873-7, Deputy Chairman of same 1877-81, and Chairman 1881-92; formerly a Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to H.M. Queen Victoria; a J.P. for Middlesex and Surrey, Director of the National and Provincial and Union Bank of England, of the Northern Assurance Co., Ltd., and of Underground Electric Railways of London Co., Ltd., etc.; married 1858, Mary, who died 1894, daughter of Captain the Hon. George Barrington; created C.B. 1880; K.C.B. (Civil) 1886; Privy Councillor 1894; G.C.B. (Civil) 1902. Residence: 14 Manchester Square, S.W. Club, Brooks's.

Sir Algernon would, I think, have accepted the above as an accurate, if meagre, account, save in respect of the education; of which he has often told me that the quantum which he imbibed at Eton was equal with that of other Etonians of the same period, namely, *nil*. How much he believed his University to have taught him I do not know, but even in those days it was not over books that a great deal of the midnight oil was usually consumed at Christ Church, nor did Sir Algernon complete his University course, or take a degree. All these things are told in the two volumes of his *Recollections* which were published during his life.

Probably he underrated the value of the education

given him both at school and college, as it was his modest habit throughout his long life to underestimate all his endowments.

I knew him in private and social life only, but I believe that he was a perfect model of the permanent official. His courtesy never failed, his temperament disposed him to avoid extremes both in opinion and action, his natural modesty made the subordinate position of a secretary to a great man easy and pleasant to him, yet his rare good sense enabled him to retain, in the subordinate position, an unfettered judgment even of the man whom he served and whom (in the person of his greatest master, Gladstone) he adored.

At the time of Mr. Gladstone's fourth Administration, with which these diaries are chiefly concerned, Sir Algernon's position was a unique one. He had been for many years Chairman of the Inland Revenue Board, and for that reason alone it would have been inconsistent with traditions of official dignity for him to occupy the nominal post of private secretary to the Premier, whether paid or unpaid. He had been pressed to go into Parliament, but felt no disposition to yield. Then Mr. Gladstone took office, at an advanced age and in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and Sir Algernon heard the call of duty clear—to devote himself, unofficially (and on that very account the more effectively), to the service of his great old chief. He accompanied Mr. Gladstone everywhere, was continually consulted by him, was the medium by which those outside a very small circle made their approaches to its formidable centre; he may almost be said to have been the Prime Minister's Prime Minister.

It may help the reader of the diaries to have at hand for ready reference a list of the Cabinet of this fourth Gladstonian Administration. It was thus composed:

First Lord of Treasury and Privy Seal .	W. E. Gladstone
Lord Chancellor . . . . .	Lord Herschell
President of the Council and Indian Secretary . . . . .	Earl of Kimberley
Chancellor of Exchequer . . . . .	Sir W. V. Harcourt
Home Secretary . . . . .	H. H. Asquith

Foreign Secretary . . . .	Earl of Rosebery
Colonial Secretary . . . .	Marquess of Ripon
Secretary for War . . . .	H. Campbell-Bannerman
First Lord of Admiralty . . . .	Earl Spencer
Chief Secretary for Ireland . . . .	John Morley
Secretary for Scotland . . . .	Sir G. O. Trevelyan
President of Board of Trade . . . .	A. J. Mundella
President of Local Government Board . . . .	H. H. Fowler
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster . . . .	James Bryce
Postmaster-General . . . .	Arnold Morley
First Commissioner of Works . . . .	J. G. Shaw-Lefevre
Vice-President of the Council . . . .	A. H. D. Acland

It was a wonderful team. I suppose that even those least in sympathy with its political views would admit its talents. But we may well think that some of its members would be rather "kittle cattle to drive." There is Morley with his fine intellect and his great literary achievement, Rosebery with his very varied and quite extraordinary gifts, and Harcourt with his masterful forensic ability. I name these three because they appear in these diaries perhaps as the great protagonists—almost antagonists—after, of course, at the most respectful distance, the leader for whom their devotion knew no bounds. It seems as if it were this devotion, and only this, that kept them together in harness. Frequently one or the other is seen very ready to start out, to kick over the traces, even at risk of upsetting the coach. But the master hand and the habit of obedience restrained them, and we find Sir Algernon acting as a kind of conductor of the coach, running to their heads now and again, patting and coaxing them.

Doubtless each was jealous, perhaps unconsciously, of the other, each very fearful lest the other were acquiring more than his due share of favour and interest with their chief. We may read that as a constant, if unacknowledged, motive behind many of the threats at breaking loose. Like most men of uncommon gifts, each, in his own way, was extremely, almost morbidly, sensitive; and they tasked Sir Algernon's singular ability as peacemaker to the utmost. Now and again it is evident that his patience is strained almost beyond bearing, and he writes

sharp words ; but always he comes back to do justice to Harcourt's essential warmth of heart and to Morley's sincere desire to be conciliatory.

By no means all the entries in the diaries are of political or historical interest ; but these—from that point of view less important passages—have an interest of their own in the light they throw on the character of the writer, and have a value for the reader in giving relief and variety. A too drastic "editing" would, in my humble judgment, have detracted much from the very "readable" quality of the whole.

The diaries can hardly fail to entertain, but I scarcely think that they will elevate our opinion of the views and purposes of eminent people. They show us the byways of political life. Reams of good notepaper have been spoilt, hours of good time have been wasted, in the heart-burning discussion whether this or that distinguished Civil servant is to write G.C.B. or G.C.M.G. after his name, and these babyish questions appear to have been of most vital concern to those who were to have the high privilege of the initials. Not one-hundredth part of such debate is given in the published letters and diaries, but what is given serves to show human nature in little dignity. The world-shaking problem whether or no a certain royal personage is to be endowed with the Order of St. Patrick is argued with a terrific pertinacity and a portentous solemnity.

Sir Algernon's perfect manners were generally proof against what one would imagine to be the almost intolerable boredom of interminable letter-writing on such trivialities, but occasionally even his suavity is touched to acidity, and he quotes with ardent approval Lord Melbourne's comment : " I like the ' Garter ' : there's no damned merit about it." I spoke to Sir Algernon about all this not long before his death, and he exclaimed, " Oh dreadful ! dreadful ! "

As we read, we are obliged to think of the ways and reasons for the distribution of grades of distinction in the kingdom of Lilliput.

He was such a very suave, courteous old gentleman,

that anything like a keen-edged criticism came surprisingly from him; and yet he could criticize. His eye was keener than was realized by many of those who fell under his spell of manner, and were perhaps charmed by it into showing the secrets of their hearts rather more openly than is often wise in a somewhat cynical world. It was to all appearance a dove-like eye—which yet had a measure of the eagle quality that enabled it to look fearlessly and with scrutiny even at the very central sun of its political universe. Mr. Gladstone's self comes in for a share of his criticism. It is evident that he would venture, and sometimes with success, on expostulation with the grand, and formidable, old man. I do not know that any of the Ministers could have so ventured.

Notwithstanding this temerity and this acuity, the quality in Sir Algernon which I admired almost more than any other was his sincere modesty. It is a quality frequently affected, but in him I believe it was absolutely real. "I often wonder how it is," he has said to me, "that a man of no intellectual gifts at all should have got on as well as I have." When he writes of his invitation to one of Asquith's and Haldane's "Blue Post" dinners as "a great honour," I believe he was perfectly sincere in deeming it an honour to be so invited, although he was a person of considerable distinction and they were junior to him by many years. He was, to be sure, even then, of the age at which the attention of younger people does begin to have attractions for their elders, but this simple entry is characteristic. Again and again when he is in company which begins to talk about philosophy, he remarks: "It was all far too deep for me," or something to that effect; but it is more than likely that the profundities were quite as bottomless for a good many of the talkers themselves, who had not the simplicity which inspired Sir Algernon's candour.

Perhaps it is hardly for me, as editor, to attempt an appraisal of the diaries. I will, rather, give a short extract from a letter of a very able critic who read them in MS. several years before their publication: "The comparison that springs to mind is with the *Greville*

*Memoirs*—only the memoirs of a Greville with a warmer heart and an intense loyalty and affection for a great personality and a troop of friends full of character. The cardinal interest of three-quarters of the whole lies in the inner working of the political machine and the human forces that drive it."

Add to "the warmer heart" and the rest of it, that he was far closer to the centre and source of great events than Greville ever came, and I think we may take this to be an admirable account, and estimate, in brief.

He had already published several volumes of reminiscences when he asked me to take charge of these diaries, and I was afraid that he might have anticipated some of their chief interest. He assured me, however, that he had been careful not to touch, in those former volumes, on the time and topics with which the diaries themselves were concerned, and a very little examination showed me that the assurance was, as I did not doubt it would be, absolutely justified. He was eighty-six years old at this time, and younger in most of his habits than I who was not yet sixty. He was still attending board meetings of the companies of which he was director; he could follow all the business details clearly, and he was of great value on the Council of the Middlesex Hospital, to which he gave a good deal of his time. Although his mind was thus young and fresh he kept much of the manner and courtesy of the old school. He often wore a white high hat in summer, and it suited his tall and still graceful though stooping figure.

He enjoyed life thoroughly to the end, and was a welcome guest in many houses and at many tables. Augustine Birrell said to me once, "What keeps dear old Algy so young is that he's always been in love with somebody." It was quite true. It was all *en tout bien et tout honneur*. Never in any instance was there a ghost of a question as to that. He had a genius, in fact, for platonic affection, and the ladies realized it, and took it at its worth—which was high. He was charming and deferential, and they delighted in him. He was sentimental, easily touched and moved; and that did him no harm with them.

He lived during the later years of his life in Manchester Square, with his son Horace, but his principal haunt during the day was Brooks's Club, of which I suppose he was one of the oldest members, if not quite the oldest. He would walk there and back, and was a diner out to the end of his life.

Just as he retained much of the courtesy of the old school, so too he practised some of its fashions long after they had gone out of vogue. Thus at an evening party he always appeared with his opera hat under his arm, as we see hats carried by the heroes of John Leech's sketches in *Punch*. Making an afternoon call, he always brought his hat up to the drawing-room with him. He retained this, which was the fashion in my own boyhood, later than any other man that I can remember. Although he kept his mind so young, it seemed difficult for him to realize all the changes of fashion by which he was surrounded. As late as 1918 I recall his saying to me: "Of course you or I never saw anyone of our class in London smoking a pipe in the streets."

With a guilty consciousness of frequent offence on my own part in this very particular I could but make an inarticulate noise which I trusted he might take for an assent, and the Recording Angel might not recognize. I was grateful that he pressed the point no further.

I hope, and indeed believe, that his life was a happy one even to its close, partly perhaps for the reason humorously suggested by Augustine Birrell. He derived much gentle enjoyment, I think, from his sentimentalities and his tender feelings for others. When some one said to him how dreadful it was that young "war-widows" so quickly took to themselves consolation and second husbands, he replied: "Poor dears, poor dears, I'm so glad for them."

After all it was perhaps the better point of view.

Towards the end he did say to me, but without bitterness or complaint: "It's rather sad, I've so outlived all my contemporaries that I've no one left to whom I can say, 'Do you remember?'" It was pathetic; but I am sure that he curiously enjoyed its pathos.



He continued to the end to write his diaries, but of course they had not the same general interest after he lost his close touch with great affairs of State.

I was with him a very few days before his death. His faculties were unimpaired, his mind absolutely clear, his courtesy and sympathy unfailing, and he awaited the end in perfect peace. He passed painlessly out of life on March 21, 1921, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

H. G. H.

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## NOTE

THE first two chapters are to be regarded as introductory to the actual Diary. They were put into their present form by Sir Algernon before his death, and published, substantially as here, in the *Cornhill Magazine*. But in the several *Recollections* which he published during his life he was careful not to encroach on the ground which he intended to cover in the diaries that would appear posthumously. The former stop where the latter begin. An index of names of most of the people mentioned in the diaries will be found at the end of the book. A short note is attached to each name. Thanks are due and are hereby given to those who have very kindly granted leave for the publication of letters.



# PRIVATE DIARIES OF THE RT. HON. SIR ALGERNON WEST, G.C.B.

"A Greville—with a warmer heart."

## CHAPTER I

### MASTERS UNDER WHOM I SERVED

AT the close of a long official career I look back, with no diminishing interest, to the various statesmen I have seen and known.

The advantage of contact with such men made the Civil Service singularly attractive to me. The earliest friend I had, who introduced me into the Admiralty, was Sir James Graham, the First Lord, of whom Mr. Gladstone always spoke with great enthusiasm as being the best administrator he had ever known, but essentially timid; he always differed on finance with Sir George Cornwall Lewis, whose judgment however was good, but action bad. Graham, he thought, would have been a Home Ruler, unlike Palmerston, who certainly would not. I was then too young to form a judgment on such matters, but subsequent history strongly confirms that opinion of Graham as a great administrator.

My friend Lord Welby, in a letter written as lately as 1906, says: "He was the first statesman who grasped the method by which alone the financial control over expenditure can be secured."

Then I was brought into close official relations with Sir Charles Wood, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, and T. G. Baring, afterwards Lord Northbrook, his secretary. Sir Charles was of a "nimble" and active mind and an equally nimble and active body. Not possessing the stately presence of Sir James Graham, he appeared

from his activity to be set on wires. Deeply versed in all the traditions of the old Whigs, politics were food and drink to him. He possessed all the qualities of a party Whip with the grasp of an acute statesman. When he had left the Admiralty, he took me as his private secretary to the India Office, where he became the Secretary of State in that recently created Ministry. There I was struck with his extraordinary power of work, and the ability he showed in managing his Council. Of this I spoke fully in a history of his Administration in India, which I wrote when he had retired from office in consequence of an accident whilst hunting. Mr. Gladstone told me how much his admiration of Sir Charles Wood's work was increased by reading what I had said. I remained private secretary to his successor, Lord De Grey, until the change of Government came, when I remained and learned much as Director of Military Funds from the able financial secretary at the India Office, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Secombe.

Upon the advent of a Liberal Government in 1868 I was unexpectedly asked to become private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, the proudest moment of my life. What I thought of him I have said in earlier volumes of my *Recollections*.

After more than three years of private secretaryship I was appointed a Commissioner of Inland Revenue; and before I retired as Chairman, at the age of sixty, I had served under no less than eight Chancellors of the Exchequer.

The first of them was Mr. Lowe, of whom I saw little officially, being only a junior member of the Board. He was a brilliant speaker in attack, but very feeble in defence. I always thought much of his success in attacking the Reform Bill of 1867 was due to the cheers of the Opposition at the end of each of his scathing sentences, which gave him time to prepare his next epigrammatic attack. He told me himself how incapable he was of being crammed, and his physical infirmity prevented his reading figures, and so the two causes made his financial statements almost painful to listen to. When he had

ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, I wrote an account of his finance, which was far better than his halting periods had led people to believe. He was very grateful to me, saying that I and Mr. Noble, who had also written on the same subject, were the only people who had done him justice.

Though a cynic, he was the author of the following lines :

Success has come—the thing that men admire,  
The pomp of office and the care of state,  
Ambition has nought left her to desire.  
Success has come, but ah ! has come too late.  
Where is the bounding pulse of other days  
That would have flashed enchantment through my frame,  
The lips that would have loved to speak my praise,  
The eyes that would have brightened at my name ?  
Oh ! vanity of vanities. For truth  
And time dry up the spring while joy was rife,  
Teach us we are but shadows of our youth  
And mock us with the emptiness of life.

My next master as Chancellor was the greatest financier of his age—Mr. Gladstone.

Sir Stafford Northcote on taking office had inherited an enormous surplus from his predecessor, Mr. Gladstone, which he was accused of frittering away.

His financial knowledge was as great as his industry, and when bored he had the blessed power of somnolence. "Does he always go to sleep when discussing figures with you ?" said a distinguished official to me one day. "I am delighted to hear you say that," I answered, "because I always feared that it was I only who had that soporific effect on him."

In earlier life he had been private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and of course had learnt much finance from him and Sir Robert Peel. His gentleness and kindness were proverbial, and he could relate with extraordinary success anecdotes of his countrymen in the West.

Mr. Gladstone once described him as pliant, diligent, quick and acute, and with a temper simply perfect, but he was not fashioned for those days in which he lived, and his death at Lord Salisbury's door no doubt was



hastened by the cruel announcement of his retirement from the Foreign Office, which he heard for the first time from the reporter of a local newspaper.

Then Mr. Gladstone came back, for a time only, but in that time he effected the great financial operation of converting the malt duty into a beer duty, the details of which I have spoken of in my *Recollections*.

It was wonderful to think that Mr. Childers should succeed Mr. Gladstone. He had been instrumental in passing the Exchequer and Audit Act, was a clear exponent of figures, and understood, as very few men did, the intricacies of Statistical Abstracts—but what a change !

Sir Michael Hicks Beach was Chancellor of the Exchequer during my time only for six months, and my official relations with him were very pleasant, but of course his short stay did not give him opportunities of doing much. He had not the gift, neither did he study the art, of popularity, but on his resignation of office he wrote me a letter saying he hoped he should never return to office, but if he did he hoped he should again be associated with me.

Sir William Harcourt was my next master, but when I was still with him he only produced what he called a Cottage Budget, remitting the tax on beer brewed in cottages with a rental under eight pounds, Alfred Milner having succeeded me as Chairman of Inland Revenue when the revision of the death duties took place.

He was always considered to have a hasty temper, and that could not be denied, but no bones were ever broken, and reconciliation was very rapid, and thus his natural kindheartedness came to the front and disclosed a tenderness which endeared him to those who knew him well.

Lord Randolph's descent among what he called a lot of d——d Gladstonians was a terror to us all, but that terror was soon changed into admiration of his manner of business, his power of concentration on the subject in hand, his modesty on matters of which he was naturally ignorant, his courtesy to all, and the original Budget which never saw the light, but which is well described in the brilliant biography written by his son, that will take its place among the immortal biographies with Lockhart's Walter

Scott, and Sir George Trevelyan's of his uncle, Lord Macaulay.

Mr. Goschen, who was an old friend of mine, succeeded Lord Randolph Churchill—the nail, as he called it, in his coffin. There never were two men so dissimilar, but with such contrasts the poor Civil servants have to bear as best they may. Lord Randolph was sharp, short, and decisive; Mr. Goschen loved minute criticisms, often criticizing his own criticisms; eager to persuade the person he was talking to, and fond of deferring his decisions. I deeply regretted his giving up the wheel tax, which in my opinion was one of the fairest, and the objections to which were noisy but illogical.

In social relations he was charming, and very generous to me in the way he spoke in the House of my retirement.

In January 1888 I was constantly engaged in discussing probabilities, possibilities, and impossibilities with him for his forthcoming Budget, while Sir Reginald (afterwards Lord) Welby, the Secretary to the Treasury, was engaged in a plan of which he told me for effecting voluntary reductions and economies in the Queen's Civil List—a plan which, unfortunately, never saw the light.

To turn to my diary. At the beginning of 1888, my wife and I settled in London and had some pleasant little dinners, at one of which Mr. Gladstone and John Morley were present. The latter was not hopeful or satisfied at the speed with which the cause of Home Rule was progressing. Parnell had told him that there was no doubt that if Arthur Balfour would only continue strong and firm he would succeed in winning over some Irish opinion, for his recent reception in Dublin had exceeded that of Garibaldi or the Princess of Wales on their entry into London; but the opportunity was missed.

Mr. Gladstone complained of his increasing deafness, and said another twelve months at the same rate would incapacitate him for public business, which we were unwilling to believe. As it ultimately turned out, however, the "eyes" and not the "ears" proved to be the real source of trouble.

Talking to Mr. Gladstone one night at Mr. Armitstead's,

I was impressed by his idea that Parnell was a great Conservative element in Irish politics, and that time would prove this, and so help onward Home Rule.

Campbell-Bannerman enlivened the dinner by many old stories, among which was one of a parliamentary "bull," I forget by whom made, "that the white face of the English soldier was the backbone of the British Army."<sup>1</sup> And another of a Scottish Judge, sentencing a man to death for stabbing a soldier: "You have hurried a human soul," he said, "into eternity; and worse than that, you have—for which God may forgive you!—protruded a lethal weapon through your victim's trousers, which were the property of His Majesty."

It was snowing when we came away, and through this snow Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone drove down to Dollis Hill, six or seven miles from London, I suppose, in an open victoria.

This was a little summer cottage, lent them by Lord Aberdeen; and three years later, in the winter of 1891, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were happily enjoying themselves there while it was still a time of fog and snow. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone was quite independent of weather, as we all should be with minds and wills as strong as his. One night, when he had a house in Park Lane, he came in, having walked through the snow from the House of Commons in twenty-eight minutes. Although he was going to lecture on Homer at Eton at the end of the week, and to speak the following Wednesday at Hastings, he let neither of these questions weigh on him, but sat down in the interval before dinner to read Sainte-Beuve on *Port Royal*.

His vitality was immense. I remember his remarking that people were so astonished at an old man not being a mummy in a glass case that they used to stare at him when he walked about.

On March 12 I was at a House dinner at the Athenæum, given by "Hang Theology" Rogers, where I met Randolph

<sup>1</sup> "The pale face of the British soldier is the backbone of our Indian Empire" is, I believe, the original form of this famous "bull," attributed to Sir G. Balfour.

Churchill. It was an interesting dinner, and it is sad to think how little worthy of record is carried away; the good stories perish in the telling.

Lord Randolph, while discussing a Bill of Lord Dunraven's for a reform of the House of Lords, said that it was an institution in which he did not take the slightest interest. He told us that he was only really afraid of two men in Europe—Bismarck and Gladstone.

Lord Randolph Churchill retired from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer at the end of 1888. While he filled that office I often had conversations with him about Mr. Gladstone, and remembered how on one occasion, on meeting him and a Liberal Unionist at dinner, he had said on passing out of the room, pointing to Mr. Gladstone, "And that is the man you left; how could you have done it?" And this made me think it might be possible to effect a meeting between Mr. Gladstone and him. On one point at any rate, the love of economy, they would have sympathized, but my audacious attempt failed at the time, as will be shown by the following characteristic letters. Afterwards the meeting took place in a manner satisfactory to both of them.

In the early days of 1887 Lord Randolph wrote to me as follows :

CARLTON CLUB, Pall Mall, S.W., *June 16, 1887.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON WEST,—The exigencies of the political situation, which is of many sides and aspects, force me to make or try to make on Saturday at Trowbridge in Wiltshire a speech of a very polemical character in respect of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy and parliamentary action. There are wheels within wheels at the present time which have all to be kept revolving and oiled as far as may be. We are governed by a gang of stolid, but in many ways powerful impostors, who must if possible be displaced and unmasked. A most difficult and delicate process. I tell you this not because I am so conceited as to suppose that Mr. Gladstone would care for or even notice any speech of mine, but because I think you ought to know that I am going to make a speech on Saturday

of a certain political description. I also think you ought to know that if just after a speech of that kind I were to have the honour of meeting Mr. Gladstone at a small dinner party and the fact were known, my enemies in the Tory Party, who are as innumerable as the sands of the sea and as active and venomous as a swarm of gnats, would scream and dance with mingled rage and joy.

There you see I have written to you terribly frankly, but you have been so kind and friendly that I know you will understand all I really mean.

Yours very truly, RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL.

DOLLS HILL, N.W., June 19, 1887.

MY DEAR WEST,—I was extremely sorry that your kind and hospitable intentions should have been intercepted by my engagement of several weeks standing to Lord Ripon for next Wednesday.

If any one desires to meet me for a public object, and you think that public object can be forwarded by the meeting, no amount of old scurrility or recent licence will induce me to refuse such a meeting, or when the meeting arrives to show any resentment for the one or the other. But the meeting must take place at *his* desire. And I even think that it would be well that, for some short time at least before it, Lord Randolph should endeavour to confine himself within bounds, and abstain from indulgence in wanton untruth.

With many thanks for your, I fear, abortive kindness,  
I remain, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Curious points of administration occasionally arise out of Revenue problems. Before the Budget of 1888 took shape a new product called "saccharine" had been discovered. It was said to possess 360 times the sweetening power of sugar, and could not, it was thought, be tested by the saccharometer. This would have thrown out all the Inland Revenue calculations on which the charge for beer duty was based, so at the request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer I saw Mr. Gladstone, who, after my explanations, promised to support him if he took steps

to prohibit its use ; I also arranged a large meeting of the principal brewers, and pointed out to them that if the use of this product were not forbidden, the only alternative would be to increase largely the duty then paid on beer. Finally I obtained their consent, and a measure authorizing the Treasury to prohibit its use—one apparently of very high-handed interference—was passed without opposition.

In October 1888 I was engaged in a tour of inspection of Inland Revenue offices in the country, for I held that no man could make a good Chairman of Inland Revenue unless he knew personally his principal officers.

On the 13th, having completed an inspection at Liverpool, I went to Hawarden, where I found the family alone. Mr. Gladstone said he had just come out of his MS. room—grateful to me above others, for I was the only one of his secretaries who had tied up his letters with tape, instead of indiarubber bands, which rotted.

After my return to town I called on Mr. Gladstone, who was staying with Mr. Stuart Rendel in Sir Robert Peel's old house in Whitehall Gardens, and found him reading O'Connell's letters. He talked of the proposed amalgamation of Inland Revenue and Customs, about which I had given evidence before the Ridley Commission on May 12. I said that Ridley and Goschen both wished him to give evidence, and he replied that he would gladly do so next day ; then he went into an historical sketch of Customs, which since the repeal of differential duties—Navigation laws, Colonial duties—had almost ceased to exist ; he asked me how I could account for the difference between the two Boards—one, the Customs, always objecting and rarely suggesting, the other forward in reforms and always capable ; he repeated that he had never known a suggestion from the Customs of any real value ; one he had adopted—one penny on each packet of imports, which they assured him would be objected to by nobody, but it was received with such a howl that he had to withdraw it at once, and run away like a dog with its tail between its legs.

In all his official negotiations with regard to Tariffs and

the French Treaty of 1860, he had invariably consulted the Inland Revenue, and, except in connexion with wine, he hardly ever referred to the Customs. He was bound to say that though Sir Thomas Fremantle had opposed everything, he had loyally done his best to give effect to his policy when inaugurated. The best men at the Customs had been St. John and Ogilvie, who came nearest to the best type of Inland Revenue officials. I caught Goschen and sent him to Mr. Gladstone, and he told Ridley later that Mr. Gladstone would give evidence. I was examined for two and a half hours on November 22, satisfactorily, I think, but Welby was very much opposed to amalgamation, and I felt sure would get his way.

Mr. Gladstone was examined before the Ridley Commission and gave strong evidence for amalgamation, as did Childers, but it was beating the air, as the Treasury was opposed to it, and as the large majority of the members had been secretaries of that authority.

On March 30, 1889, we dined with Lord Sydney, who told my wife, apropos of a picture of Sir Robert Walpole, that it was in that very room that he and his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, drew swords on each other and were interrupted by the ladies rushing in and separating them.

Mr. Gladstone in conversation one day praised Tennyson's life much, thought he was a philosopher as well as a poet, but wanting in the historical element. He was as a boy very remarkable. He thought his saying true, that it was difficult to believe, but more difficult not to believe. I told him that I had never any difficulty in believing. He said of course it came more to those who went closely into those questions, and this was not everybody's duty. Talking of Tennyson's story of his Calvinistic aunt, Mrs. Bourne, he said there was a certain clergyman, Aitken, the founder of a small sect of Aitkenites, who said he could not find words to express how few would be saved, but it certainly would not be two in a million!

Then the Franco-German war was discussed, and John Morley said MacMahon's great mistake was in marching to Mézières instead of to Paris, where he might have successfully proclaimed a Republic. The moment Moltke

heard of his movement he put his finger on the map at Sedan and said: "It will be there that we shall capture the French Army."

I talked of Odo Russell's delightful letters to Lord Clarendon when he was with the German Army and in intimate relations with Bismarck, and which I sincerely hope may some day see the light.

I was very much surprised to find that neither Mr. Gladstone nor John Morley thought him more than a good conversationalist and writer. The latter thought that he knew very little of French politics, and did not think much of our diplomatic service when he considered that Lord Lytton and Morier were its brightest ornaments.

Mr. Gladstone had a very high opinion of Lord Clarendon as an able diplomatist. Of all the colleagues he had had he considered him the most agreeable.

Talking of Arthur Balfour's leadership in the House of Commons, John Morley amused us by quoting Mrs. Jeune's saying to him that she feared he must be a failure, for even Randolph Churchill admitted it!

On a cold day in January 1891 I reached Hawarden at six o'clock, and found the only visitors, Lady Gladstone and Miss Gladstone, in the drawing-room. At dinner we talked about certain matters connected with the postal revenue and manufacture of stamps. Any subject connected with the Inland Revenue, luckily for me, always seemed to conjure up happy reminiscences of former triumphs in Mr. Gladstone's mind.

He appealed to me for my opinion of Lord Randolph Churchill. I said that, next to himself, as Chancellor of the Exchequer I would sooner have him to work with. He was an excellent man of business, knowing his own mind and devoting it absolutely to the matter in hand. Sharp, short, and decisive. He said he admired him very much, and on every occasion he had met him his manners had been very agreeable.

Mr. Gladstone was rather in a pessimistic frame of mind on the state of society and was not, he said, oversanguine as to the continuance of belief, and feared that the "seen," such as riches and luxuries, was eclipsing



the "unseen." He did not care a rush for Agnosticism, Atheism, Positivism, or the harm they could do; but he feared the careless and luxurious lapse from Christianity. If that was to go, he said, "give me the religion of the early Greeks." The best way he knew to combat such dangers was to encourage reading, and with this sense of duty before him he was trying to found a library in Hawarden, where he hoped there would some day be 40,000 volumes.

Then he told me how he recollected a dinner of workmen, given by Sir Stephen Glyme, where a man spoke who had been a pitman with wages of ten shillings a week, at which time the agricultural labourer could have had no more than seven or eight shillings and a family to support with corn at one pound a bushel, that is eight pounds a quarter. What a contrast to pitmen now earning two and three pounds a week and corn thirty-five shillings a quarter!

I asked him why he always looked back with such admiration and enthusiasm on George Canning. He said: "You must recollect how young I was when I first heard him. I was twelve years old, and his speeches were clear and admirable—over them he expended immense care, as I know, for Mr. Therry sent me his speeches corrected by himself, and they were altered and polished to the utmost extent, and with the greatest elaboration."

He did not think that his wit shone in the House of Commons, but he showed boundless courage. When asked by an Opposition in a majority what he would do about Reform, "Oppose it to the utmost of my power," he replied, "and the same with regard to the Test and Corporation Act."

He told me how Canning illustrated at Liverpool the absurdity of the Reformers claiming to have a universal panacea for the relief of all ills; he said they reminded him of a painter who was famous for painting Red Lions. A man building a house said he wanted a fine bold picture for his dining-room. The painter said there could be no doubt that the most suitable thing would be a picture of a large Red Lion, to which he assented. He then con-

sulted him as to his wife's boudoir, which he desired to ornament with some finely drawn panels. The painter said he had considered the question very fully, and thought undoubtedly the best subject would be a small Red Lion.

He did not think Canning was sarcastic in the House. Disraeli was the greatest "sarcast" he ever knew.

It was now getting late, and we went into the drawing-room; he going to his "Temple of Peace" (which he begged me to consider as my own) to read Dunckley's *Melbourne*, also Justin McCarthy's *Peel*, which he did not like so much as his *History*. He oddly enough never knew Melbourne.

JANUARY 10.—A lovely day. At breakfast Mr. Gladstone, who had been through the cold and snow to church, came in, and again contrasted the work of the Customs and Inland Revenue, much to the advantage of the latter.

At twelve o'clock I went up to Mrs. Gladstone, who had been ill but was better. She told me she was seventy-nine, and that Mr. Gladstone was calm and still hopeful about Ireland and well and strong. He came in, and plunged at once into Irish politics. "Up to November," he said, "I should have considered Parnell fair, straightforward, and rigidly honest in all public transactions." It would be a nice question in casuistry to say whether a man, stating what had never occurred, could be considered as breaking confidence.

I told him of what John Morley had said to me at the time of the trial: "Don't be carried away by any enthusiasm for Parnell, who is clever, but cold and calculating." Mr. Gladstone said: "I never was enthusiastic about him, but only enthusiastic against the foul measures taken to crush him." I said I could only look upon him as having been driven into a corner, and losing his temper and his head, which I think is the case. He thought perhaps I was right and certainly charitable. He told me the only time he had an interview with Parnell before seeing him at Hawarden was during a division in the House when the Committee was sitting on Royal Grants. He told Parnell that he could assure him that the Prince of Wales bore no ill-will to Ireland, and would raise no obstacles to the realization of her wishes. He believed

the Prince of Wales owed his allowance to the support Parnell gave him in that Committee.

In the afternoon we drove to his Institute, where he had with his own hands arranged the thousands of volumes it contained. He was full of hopes for its future usefulness. His fears of the sale of Lord Acton's 60,000 volumes were removed now. He talked again very fully of the autumn troubles, and how we must none of us despair. I told him of Lord Randolph Churchill's letter, saying what an opportunity the Tories now had of settling once for all the whole question of the Government of Ireland. He said how earnestly he hoped they might avail themselves of it, but he feared they would not with Hartington's consent. What a sad state of things it was when two such *beaux esprits* as Chamberlain and Randolph Churchill were out of the Government and the immediate Opposition, and adrift at sea!

Then we fell to talking of Disraeli, and what laughs he might have indulged in inwardly at his successes against the Tory Party, which he led. Lord John Russell was much struck when Disraeli, sitting among the Tories, spoke about their prejudices against the Jews, saying that the country that oppressed them was abandoned by Providence, who blessed those that blessed them.

I talked of my idea of retiring when I was sixty, in a little more than a year. At first he said the State would never tolerate it, and I had not been Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue long enough, but when I showed him that I had been Chairman nearly ten years, that I thought at sixty I should still be young enough to take an interest in other things, and should like to be politically free; that I had, moreover, no prospects of working with a Chancellor who would be specially pleasing to me, he began to see the force of what I said, and added: "Your sweeping scheme of revision of the death duties (never adopted) I should be prepared to accept, but neither Childers nor Harcourt<sup>1</sup> would have the courage for it; your only hope is Randolph."

<sup>1</sup> In after years it was never a reproach to Sir William Harcourt that he had dealt with too light a hand with the Death Duties.

Here we reached the lake and, getting out of the carriage soon after, walked home through the snowy woods. He said he had enjoyed a recent visit to the Glen, but above everything else had delighted to see Sir Charles Tennant purring with delight over his pictures, his books, and his family. He made a capital speech on his birthday. "As for Margot," Mr. Gladstone said, "I told her a long story about Peel, and then within two months she wrote and asked me to tell it all to her again!" I abstained from mentioning that her memory was good, which was the fact, but her anxiety of course was to get the story in his own handwriting. I told him of her little story *Clara*, which he should read, and for which she had got three guineas. "What can be so pleasant," he said, "as money made by the sweat of a man's brow?" He made a good deal now, but got nothing at the time, for his Homeric studies, which now commanded a good price in the book market.

In his Homeric translations Lord Derby passed over a passage where Homer mentioned the names of eight Nereids as utterly unimportant, whereas the student knew that these eight Nereids were mentioned as representing the various forms of religion. The Greeks do not now call water ἵδωρ but νερό. He added that Lord Derby trusted to his great genius and natural gifts more than to hard work.

Mr. Gladstone told me that he thought Goschen was a clever man, but though he distinguished himself at College he had never shown any trace of high literary cultivation or classical knowledge. As to his suspicious nature, that was the especial bane of many political men: Cardwell, Graham, but not Aberdeen.

Bishop Temple preached to us in the morning in a terribly rasping voice; and Mr. Gladstone said that in Nonconformist chapels the congregation would interfere in such a case. He heard one day at the City Temple a complaint made to Dr. Parker that he did not speak plainly enough, which Parker turned off by saying, "I always observe that people, when they become hard of hearing, always seat themselves as far from the preacher

as they can." My brother Richard once asked an old parishioner if she could hear. "Yes, sir," she said; "I manages to get close up to the Fowl"—meaning the lectern!

Dr. Parker wrote a very good skit on Huxley and Tyndall and Mill, as the three friends of Job.

Mr. Gladstone hated all changes, as I have said, and I maintained always he was the only real Conservative existing. "Yes," he said, "I hate all the radical ideas of the present Tory Government."

In the afternoon walk he sowed much seed on stony rocks, which will never bring forth anything, for he talked over my head about the Jansenists and Port Royal and their history, in which he was deeply interested.

At six o'clock we walked out into the cold and snowy park, he with his little lanthorn in his hand, to church. Talked of the condition of the House of Lords and of the many black sheep in such a limited body, the natural result perhaps of young men brought up to idleness, wealth, and position. Many men were in favour of the total abolition of the hereditary principle. He said he saw the difficulties of any reform. The Lords set free would be such formidable candidates for the House of Commons that that assembly would not like it.

But what could be said of a Senate of which the best that could be postulated of it by its apologists was that they never pushed things so far as to cause a revolution? It was urged that they were there to prevent panic legislation. The two worst instances of panic legislation in his time were the "Church Discipline Bill" and the "Ecclesiastical Bill," and they were both rushed through the House of Lords.

Dinner was passed in talk of ghost stories and tales of "Spiritists," as he disliked the term "Spiritualists."

At breakfast the next day (January 18, 1891), I tried to maintain the constantly increasing improvement in every branch of life. He quoted Bacon as saying that as the mechanical improvement of a nation increased, the decadence of the nation began, which I thought, humbly, was opposed to the truth. He admitted that he

could not support the proposition by argument, which satisfied me.

Afterwards he showed me all his late correspondence ; among it was a letter written of him by Lord Acton.

“ The line taken was the best and highest. If we are all baffled and weakened for the moment we should have been so, just as much if he had not done what he did, and the loss would have been permanent, without hope of recovery, and without the redeeming dignity, the moral superiority, and the splendid act with which he put in the front considerations not personal to himself.”

Mr. Gladstone then came to the door to see me off. As I was leaving Hawarden : “ There is one improvement,” he said, “ you did not mention, and that’s the improvement of the Inland Revenue ! ” And so my happy visit ended.

## CHAPTER II

WITH MR. GLADSTONE AT BIARRITZ

IN April 1891 we heard, to our deep regret, of the death of Lord Granville, who had for twenty-three years been our kind and affectionate friend. Indeed, there must have been many aching hearts, for his charm and geniality affected all with whom he had been brought in contact politically and socially. The courtliness of an earlier time sometimes brought on him the utterly undeserved reputation of a humbug. But what does humbug mean? If never wilfully to hurt anyone—to be courteous to friend and foe alike, to be generous and to gain the love of young and old—if this is to be a humbug, then he excelled in the art—and now, he was gone!

Mr. Gladstone had not a more loyal or devoted friend, “of such a friendship as had mastered time.” Written or personal communications between them had hardly ceased for a day. And here I should be glad if I could describe a peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone. He felt the loss keenly, but yet, so great was his command of his feelings, that after ten minutes’ talk about it, he closed the subject, and for the rest of my visit never alluded to it again. How such control is to be envied! “Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control, these three alone lead man to sovereign power.”

A day or two had hardly passed when we heard of the death of another old friend, Charles Hambro, who also possessed a great charm. At his funeral appeared a one-legged shoeblack from the House of Commons, who had walked all the way down to Milton in Dorsetshire, to be present at the laying to rest of a man who had always been kind to him.

On July 8 I was pleased with an invitation to dine with Haldane and Asquith at their annual dinner at the “Blue Posts,” which I considered a great honour. Among the guests were Lord Dufferin, Arthur Balfour, John Morley, George Curzon, Edward Grey, Burne-Jones, and Lord Bowen. The conversation turned on the Poet Laureate-ship, Asquith hoping it would be held in suspense on Tennyson’s death. Arthur Balfour said Swinburne should have it. John Morley wondered what the Nonconformist conscience would say to his “Epithalamium.” Lord Bowen was in favour of Dr. Bridges, whom none of us knew as a poet. Burne-Jones said he read certain of Sir Walter Scott’s novels every year; he had read some of them thirty-seven or thirty-eight times, but admired Thackeray above everybody else. He admired Tennyson too, with all his rude ways. Oscar Browning going up to him once, he said gruffly :

“Who are you?”

“Browning,” he said.

“That you ain’t, by God!”

Bowen said that before twenty years were over we should see a combination of labour.

Then on general politics George Curzon led a crusade against Randolph Churchill, whom I felt called on to defend, which I did in the midst of a very animated and general conversation. George Curzon said that he was done for, and would never come to the front again, which I disputed. He said there were three men before him: Arthur Balfour, Ritchie, and Chaplin, at which John Morley shrugged his shoulders. “I suppose you think them incomprehensible,” said George Curzon. “Not three incomprehensibles, but one incomprehensible,” said John Morley; and so on till 12.30, when we were turned out by the police.

On October 7 I heard of Charles Parnell’s death. It fell like an eclipse; the cold, unsympathetic leader had gained a position and a personal influence surpassing in potency anything known before in English politics. He was the chosen representative of the loftiest aspirations of his countrymen, and his death left a void undescribable.



Later on I went to the Glen<sup>1</sup> and met Haldane and Asquith. During discussions on the events and men of the day Haldane said there was no doubt Mr. Gladstone was a god, but an inferior one, while Asquith described Goschen as having a complex but not a subtle mind.

On October 28, 1891, I paid another visit to Hawarden and found Lord Rosebery, his two boys, and Canon Scott Holland there.

We discussed Pitt's Life, which Lord Rosebery was writing. "I am more inclined to be a Pittite than a Foxite," said he, "because Fox seceded when he could have spoken against the Union, and in 1806 gave the same pledge as Pitt did to the King about Catholic Emancipation."

From that we passed to the coming biography of Lord Chatham, which John Morley was writing—a work which Lord Rosebery did not think well fitted for him, for Lord Chatham was certainly mad in the latter days of his life.

Mr. Gladstone thought John Morley had overrated Walpole, from which I, as his descendant, presumptuously differed. Later on Mrs. Drew told me that Mr. Gladstone had not read George Russell's *Life* of himself, but had seen a quotation which accused him of a great love of power; but he thought, in looking back on his life, he was more to blame in refusing power than in accepting it.

I sat up late with Lord Rosebery in the smoking-room, talking chiefly about men. He considered that Sir George Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay* ranked with Boswell's *Johnson*, and his witty poems of early life were excellent.

Next day at dinner Mr. Gladstone seemed not very well; after discussing Sir Walter Scott's novels, he reiterated what he had so often said before, that he thought the *Bride of Lammermoor* was the best, and the second best *Kenilworth*—the first might have been written by Æschylus, the second by Shakespeare. Unfortunately we then got on, I know not how, to the Irish Rebellion (1798), on which he spoke with extreme force, perhaps exaggeration, and was a little short with Lord Rosebery.

<sup>1</sup> The Glen was Sir Charles Tennant's place in Peeblesshire.

Later on he showed us in his library a little book which he treasured, given to him as a child by Mrs. Hemans, when she said, "I am going out of the world: you are just entering it."

In discussing Arthur Hallam's early works on philosophy, he said that he stood out above his fellows, and deserved all that Tennyson had said of him in his "In Memoriam."

Lord Rosebery told me, when he entered the Cabinet, he was struck by their want of manners all round to each other. In reading Lord Broughton's *Memoirs* I found that he made a similar remark.

At dinner we talked of Peel, who said in 1847 he would never again form a Government.

Mr. Gladstone said that in the formation of his Governments the worries kept him awake thinking of all the complex and inevitable arrangements that it involved.

Sir George Lewis was always opposed to him in finance, saying the principle of taxation should be to tax the greatest number of articles very lightly, Peel and he having both acted on the exactly opposite principle.

We were both struck with Mr. Gladstone's powers and modesty, and rejoiced at the luck of our quiet visit.

On my return to London I had a talk with Arthur Godley, who told me he thought it would be my duty to help Mr. Gladstone, by devoting myself to him on my retirement, and to do that perfectly I ought to go into Parliament. He ridiculed my plea of age, and said I had probably had as great an experience of Parliament as anybody in the House except Mr. Gladstone. He was very strong on the subject, and on going to Coombe I talked on the same topic to Lady Wolverton, who supported Godley's contention, and Arnold Morley coming there, also urged my standing for Parliament, promising me a safe seat. I could not agree as to the desirability of my going into the House, but everybody was against me. I put my case after a long talk thus: I was prepared to do anything for Mr. Gladstone, and if he *proprio motu* wished me to stand, I would.

It was settled that Sir Reginald Welby was to talk to

Mr. Gladstone to-morrow as to my intention of retirement, and my wish to devote myself to his service, when he formed a Government; whether he would like it at all, and if so, whether he would consider it most to *his* interest that I should try for a seat in Parliament. Before dinner I saw Welby, who said he had gone through the whole question thoroughly with Mr. Gladstone; that he had set forth my desire to place myself at his service one way or the other, saying that, as to Parliament, if I could divide my mind into ten parts, nine parts would be *contra*, one *pro*. As to the first, Mr. Gladstone said my offer removed a load from his mind, and that it was an act of unparalleled generosity on my part. As to the second, he was in favour of my getting a seat in Parliament.

He, Mr. Gladstone, Carrington, Henry Asquith, and John Morley came to dinner. I told the latter my views, and asked whether there would be any jealousy of one in such a position as I had proposed. He said none, though it would be a far more important place than any other, and would perhaps be the salvation of the Government.

He thought on the whole Parliament would be a waste of time, and bore me; but he attached great weight, of course, to Mr. Gladstone's opinion.

Mr. Gladstone said: "I need not talk to you now about the conversations I have had lately about you, but I shall never forget them."

We discussed *Pitt's Life*, by Rosebery, coming to the conclusion that it was great, without the literary touch of a professional. Mr. Gladstone said that up to 1798 it was excellent. The three men with the greatest parliamentary courage he had ever known were John Russell, Disraeli, and Peel. George Cornwall Lewis was always contemplating philosophical and literary work, and was idle as an administrator, and no originator.

A day or two later I had a conversation with Henry Asquith at Brooks's, when we discussed Mr. Gladstone's saying that people so often misapplied St. Paul's instructions to comply with every ordinance of man—which, he contended, was meant to apply not to nations, but indi-

viduals, for he knew of nothing so contemptible as a nation submitting to unjust oppression. In course of our talk Asquith told me of a curious saying of John O'Connor's, that the Parnellite game was up, because all that Irishmen now cared for was Mr. Gladstone.

Two days after his return from South Africa in December 1891, Randolph Churchill dined with us, and said that he had missed his chance in life by not possessing the qualifications of W. H. Smith. He would be careful to educate his son on those lines, and then he would be sure of success.

W. H. Smith had died in the preceding October. He was endowed with few gifts, but he certainly gained the esteem of the House of Commons by his integrity and common sense. He had for a few weeks been Secretary for Ireland—an office which Sir William Harcourt aptly defined as being conducted on the truly commercial lines of "small profits and quick returns."

At the end of the month I had spent a few days at Hawarden, and travelled homewards with Lord Rosebery and his sons. On arriving at the station at Crewe, one of Lord Rosebery's boys turned to his father and asked how we should get our newspapers now W. H. Smith was dead! He had not learnt that in this world nobody is indispensable.

*Extracts from letters to my Wife, when on a visit to Biarritz, in December 1891*

Having arranged to pay a visit to Mr. Armitstead at Biarritz, where Mr. Gladstone was staying, I started from Charing Cross at 10 a.m. (on the 23rd) in a thick fog, Horace coming to see me off. It had cleared by the time I had reached the Channel, where the sea was smooth and the sun bright. I had to drive an endless distance from the "Nord" to the "Orleans" station, where I dined and went on to Biarritz, arriving about 11 a.m. on December 24, and was met by Armitstead's courier, who took me to the Grand Hotel, where I washed and dressed and was ready for breakfast.

The result of the Waterford Election, W. Redmond

(Parnellite) defeating M. Davitt (Nationalist), followed me rapidly, but beyond the moment it did not seem to depress Mr. Gladstone.

I took a little walk down to the sea, and as Oscar Wilde was disappointed with the Atlantic so was I disappointed with the rocks, which are poor compared to our Cornish coasts, though there is always of course a fine sea.

After tea we discussed the Memoirs of General Marbot.

Mr. Gladstone was struck with England's unhandiness through the Continental wars, which had all tended to Napoleon's glorification. It was curious to follow how each progressive act in the Reign of Terror was in response to some success of the Allies. Pitt's hiring foreign troops with English subsidies was dreadful, and had the effect of raising the price of corn to five times its present value. Then Mr. Gladstone and John Morley talked of Lucretius and compared him with Virgil, though the second *Æneid* could not have been written by Lucretius, who followed him closer than Horace, and Catullus stood very high. Tennyson was our greatest living poet. Byron had splendid powers. Persius was spoken of highly.

I played backgammon with Mr. Gladstone, who beat me. While smoking afterwards, John Morley told me that A. Balfour had said to him, at our Asquith-Haldane dinner, that it was an odd thing that permanent Civil servants, with all their opportunities and knowledge, always advised what was unadvisable, from a Parliamentary point of view. I strongly disputed this, saying that he must have spoken from his own experience, as I had always heard that the Irish Secretary was infamously served. I should like the question referred to Mr. Gladstone, which he said he would do.

Christmas Day was fine, but not hot. John Morley and I started at 9 a.m. by electric tram to Bayonne, where we intended to be present at the 10.30 High Mass in the Cathedral. On our way we discussed the future. Who could be Lord Lieutenant? It would be essential to have a strong man: Dufferin would not take it; it would have to be Spencer? Then as to the composition of the future Cabinet, he said that in such a life-and-death

struggle as it would be, each man must do what Mr. Gladstone thought best for the general good.

We then enumerated those men who had gone into the Cabinet *per saltum*—Goschen, Matthews, Randolph Churchill, Chamberlain, and John Morley—without previous official training of any kind.

Arriving at Bayonne, we went straight to the Cathedral, which was very fine, and full of ecclesiastics and seminarists. Then came a solemn procession during which the bishop gave his ring to be kissed by a little girl, which was pretty. The ceremony was gorgeous and the music beautiful. The *Adeste Fideles* was sung by the biggest choir I had ever seen. We stayed to the end, and both agreed how wonderful it was that anybody passed the emotional age without becoming a Roman Catholic.

Morley said that he was brought up by parents who would have thought it was an arch sin to attend such worship as we had done.

Then we wandered for a bit on the quays of the Adour, which was very bright and pretty, and then to our tram.

At dinner Mr. Gladstone chaffed us for our Roman Catholic tendencies.

Talked of Dufferin and his various successes and the poverty of the diplomatic service, notwithstanding its great prizes; also of Morier, Augustus Paget, and Drummond Wolff, of whom I told the story of his saying "Good-bye" to Stanley, when he came up to say "How-d'you-do?" and to bore us—which I thought a triumph of diplomatic skill.

Mr. Gladstone spoke very highly of Lord Lytton and "Julian Fane."

Then to church with Mr. Gladstone, who said he was growing shorter. Told him of Lowell's story about Methuselah, whose friends went to visit him on his nine hundredth birthday. When they asked him how he was: "Oh! pretty well," he said, "for my age, but those d—d shoe-strings will go flapping in my face!"

Drove to the Lighthouse built in 1832; got out and walked back with Mr. Gladstone, who said if he had a chance he wished to have it out with the constituencies about the demands they made on the time of their Mem-

bers, making them talkers and propagandists instead of thinkers. We wanted someone to think out our Army administration. The next Election, he hoped, as Disraeli said, would be decisive one way or another. Spoke highly of Lord Spencer. Then began about me in language which my modesty prevents my recording. "The help I should be to him it was impossible to exaggerate." But I should look at the question from my point of view and think I was attaching myself to a corpse and for so short a time! He thought that anybody occupying such an important and confidential position should be in Parliament, where my knowledge and authority on all Revenue questions would be of great weight, and combated my idea that I was too old for a Parliamentary career. He cited Lord Dalling and Lord Stratford, who both spoke on their own subjects with weight and authority. I had converted him to my views on death duties, why not others? I said I was no believer in a man of sixty beginning a new career. Indeed, I should be doing what many of my friends would go so far as to call ridiculous; but at the same time, I should not be doing it for myself, and if he thought I should be of more use to him by going into the House, I would make the sacrifice.

At dinner we talked about Ecclesiastical Endowments: their doubtful use. The question, John Morley said, had been thoroughly worked out one hundred years ago for the *Encyclopædia* of Diderot by Turgot.

We started on a lovely morning from the *Négresse* station, passing St. Jean de Luz and the Spanish Frontier at Irun to Fontarabia, an old Basque town on the Bidassoa, which Wellington had crossed in 1818. The people were mostly like Irish cottars, squalid and dirty; but the old town on a hill was very picturesque, with houses of the eleventh century whose cornices almost touched across the streets; ironwork balconies—large persiennas and one woman with a mantilla; a fine cathedral and a castle with dungeons—"to be let or sold," and a Spanish ducal title attached to the property.

On our return we drove by the side of the Bidassoa, past the Isle of Pheasants, to St. Jean de Luz.

The drive back was very sunny and bright, and we had a gorgeous luncheon at the Hôtel de France and the best omelette soufflée I ever ate—and macaroni. Then to a very fine old Basque church, where the men were all put into large galleries running round.

At luncheon on the day following John Morley praised Mrs. Oliphant's *Chronicles of Carlingford*—as good as any of George Eliot's; but said that Mrs. Oliphant was no judge of when she could or could not give an opinion, never submitting to others. He gave her a book to write on Sheridan, which she did very badly. The conversation turned on geographical mistakes in literature. Mr. Gladstone said Elsinore was spoken of by Campbell and Shakespeare as being on a very rocky shore, whereas it was on a sandy flat. And John Morley told us that Matthew Arnold wrote a poem on "The Church of Brou," and described it as standing on a height, where the people of Chambéry went for their Sunday walk, when it was really on a plain and sixty miles from Chambéry. Arnold consulted him as to whether the poem should be omitted from his works, which it was at the time, but has since been published.

Mr. Gladstone said "artistic" was a new and horrid word. I suggested that it was French.

We talked of extremes in literature, such as "awful" and "utter," and Mr. Gladstone said when he was at Eton the word "dapper" was used for everything. Hallam used notes to his books to an excess. Macaulay, who wrote beautiful English, embodied all his information in the original. Cobden spoke good English. Bright's *crinis passis*, which I said was *crinis disjectis*, applied to Disraeli and his ten minutes' Reform Bill. Mr. Gladstone thought he had probably used it twice.

The waves became very fine, and we went out and watched them for a long time. At dinner we discussed Marbot and the bad conduct of the French Marshals, Murat and Lannes, taking the bridge of boats over the Danube by telling the Austrian General that peace was settled, which was a pure lie; thus leading to the victory of Austerlitz. John Morley praised "Nathan the Wise"



by Lessing, and the appreciation of a German audience as compared with that of other countries.

The House of Lords—how could it be mended ! John Morley thought it impossible, but did not see the advantage of two Chambers, though he acknowledged the sentiment in favour of it.

DECEMBER 28.—Mr. Gladstone deplored the neglect of Italian, which is the real foundation of all literature. Dante is supposed to have come to Oxford. Oxford and Cambridge old celebrities were then discussed. Comparison of Butler and Locke, and their philosophy.

Tennyson took his "In Memoriam" from the model of "Herbert of Cherbury," etc., etc.

DECEMBER 29.—To-day is Mr. Gladstone's birthday, and I hold this over to tell you what happens.

An innumerable number of telegrams and one from the Prince and Princess of Wales from England, and a charming one from assistants in Marshall & Snelgrove's, to which a pretty answer was sent.

At one, a deputation and bouquet from the municipality and then the English Club. Then Armitstead, Miss Helen, and I went to see a Nunnery of Bernardines at Anglet near here ; beautiful pine woods and gardens, where those poor nuns, who never speak, and wear hoods which prevent their seeing anything but the ground, pass what they call their lives—horrible !

DECEMBER 31.—At dinner we talked of income-tax administration, probate, etc., then discussed payment of M.P.'s. Mr. Gladstone's view was that if any M.P. could procure a certificate from the Board of Inland Revenue to the effect that his income was under £400 he should receive a salary, and that a return should be made to Parliament of all M.P.'s receiving payment. Mr. Gladstone protested against forcing M.P.'s to receive payment, however rich. I said his argument might apply to men like Hartington receiving £5,000 a year. Herschell (who had arrived on the 30th) thought it might come from the constituencies by a rate, but feared that it might lead to payment of county councillors, etc., which it assuredly will. No conclusion was arrived at.

Herschell told us some good American stories. A man bought a red jersey, returning to the shop soon after and saying "You promised me it would not shrink." "Has it?" said the shopkeeper. "Well," he said, "when I put it on this morning my wife said, "Why have you got my pink coral necklace round your neck?"

A man was boasting of a dinner of five hundred with one hundred waiters. "Oh!" said another, "we had a dinner at Ohio of two thousand and only one waiter, though I must admit he was on horseback."

A driver met another in a narrow way and shouted out menacingly, "If you don't make room for me, I will treat you as I treated the man I met here last week." Whereupon the man humbly drove his carriage up the bank, and the other man passed. "Well, how did you treat the man you met last week?" "Well, I got out of *his* way!"

He saw in an American paper: "Great Dynamite Scare.—Two pigs had eaten some cartridges, left by miners. One was kicked by a donkey and a huge explosion followed; the other pig is at large. Great excitement prevails! Hundreds are leaving the neighbourhood!"

Mr. Gladstone told us how a terrible operation was being performed in Paris. No sound came from the unfortunate sufferer. "Est-il mort?" asked a student. "Non," said the operator, "c'est un anglais."

Oh! such summer days as we had! I rode in the morning and then we went with Mr. Gladstone to Bayonne.

The year passed, and I looked out of my window on the blue and starry sky and foaming sea.

JANUARY 1, 1892.—A long talk on the possibility of arranging Revenue for Ireland.

JANUARY 2.—Talking of quill pens at breakfast, apropos of the swan's quill which you gave to Mr. Gladstone, John Morley told us that Cardinal de Retz said he was sure a man must be a fool if he had used the same pen for three years!

Oliver Cromwell told de Retz that the man who went the farthest was the man who did not know at starting

where he was going. De Retz again said that showed him Cromwell was a fool !

Mr. Gladstone said that he should like to have seen Cromwell pitted against Napoleon. Some new papers showed that in 1647 Cromwell began to consider whether it would not be necessary, if he could not get the King to come to terms, to execute him. In cutting off his head, which he undoubtedly did; he had the army, ninety-nine out of one hundred, with him, but not the people of England.

Mr. Gladstone did not love Cromwell, but thought him a great man with no distinct love of religious liberty.

John Morley, though he considered that he loved administration more than liberty, thought that, so near the Spanish times, he was for religious liberty, always excepting Roman Catholics.

Charles I was a terrible liar. Cromwell would only lie for a purpose, as Elizabeth and Bismarck would.

Then about Laud, etc., too deep for me. I said afterwards that such conversations always humbled me. John Morley said I was quite wrong; that the world was governed by men of action, not by men of books, and that my life was far more important towards the government of the world than his life of literature. As Lowe said : " It was Eton against Education—and Eton always won."

To church; walked with Armitstead. At dinner the talk was of English poets. Mr. Gladstone said in the nineteenth century how much we owed to the clergy. Crabbe, Heber, Newman, Keble, Trench, Kingsley, Faber, C. Tennyson, Moultrie, Milman, Wolfe, Hawker, Barnes, McNeile; England stood out well in literature generally. France had V. Hugo, Musset, Coppée, and one other whose name has escaped me.

Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach," "Rugby Chapel," and "Thyrsis"—my favourites—he thought very fine.

Arthur Hallam said Wordsworth might have been a great philosopher or a great poet, but his poetry spoiled his philosophy, and his philosophy his poetry. He was very penurious. He told Miss Martineau he always gave his friends tea, but if they had meat he charged them for it.

JANUARY 5.—Yesterday, after seeing a meet of the hounds in the morning, and being photographed by Armitstead, we drove to the bar of the Adour to see the ships cross it at high tide. It was a calm day out at sea, but there was a rolling and heavy swell at the bar nevertheless. Ships go in and out, to or from Bayonne, by signal from the lighthouse.

We arrived there too soon, but in about half an hour the first ship, very empty, worked her way out against a heavy swell and strain. The second tried, but could not get up sufficient steam power and had to turn back. It was now getting very cold, but I stayed behind the others to see one ship come in, but before that a very big and light ship went out, and pitched most fearfully at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$ . I then saw a ship run in, and started off on a *digue*—you recollect the word—about six feet broad, between the sea and the marsh, just wide enough to prevent my feeling uncomfortable, thinking it would soon lead me to the road. After walking for two miles, imagine my horror to find that the *digue* narrowed to three feet. I was terrified and very giddy, but had to walk on at least another mile. I then saw that the river took an immense sweep, which would have been many miles round to Bayonne, and it was getting dark, but mercifully there was a little moon. At last I found a man in a boat, who told me I could strike off by a path over the sand, which appeared vague, and find a path through the pine woods, which appeared still vaguer; however, after much heart-failing, by the help of the moon I found the road and reached Bayonne in time for the 6.30 train here.

A long talk with Mr. Gladstone about the Cabinet, which he admitted was getting old. He said he felt now a dissolution might come at any time.

Goschen he thought hardly treated by not being Leader, and he might have resigned; how he could I could not imagine, as he was between the devil and the deep sea. He said now Hartington had gone it was impossible.

Last night he talked about stamps, and it was delightful to hear him pour forth praises of the Inland Revenue.

Promised to pay a visit to the Inland Revenue on his return before I left.

On March 15 my wife and I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone at 1 Carlton Gardens, the old home of the Ripons in which I had spent so many happy hours, but which was now the property of Mr. Rendel. He had placed it, apparently, at the disposal of Mr. Gladstone for an indefinite period.

It seemed to me remarkable how Mr. Gladstone, who was so methodical in the arrangement of his books and papers, could bear this absence of a settled home.

The conversation turned on Garibaldi and the enormous enthusiasm he excited wherever he went. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were both a little alarmed at it during his visit to this country, and were very much relieved when he left our shores.

On March 21 I was asked to stand for the Morley Division of Yorkshire, which Mr. Gladstone urged me to take. I thought, if I went into Parliament, I should be troublesome, for I had doubts on the Eight Hours Bill, and had very strong views on national economy and war. Eventually I declined it, and to my great delight abandoned the idea of going into the House altogether.

On April 4, my birthday, I sent in my resignation of the Chairmanship of the Board of Inland Revenue. The end of forty years' service cannot be completed without a pang, and a sense of gratitude at my undeserved success in it—my only merit being hard work, and an attempt to "never be in the way, or out of it," a saying which I think was applied to Montagu when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694.

The pain of leaving my official colleagues of the Inland Revenue, from whom I had received so many kindnesses, the memory of which will never be forgotten, was to some extent mitigated by the prospect I had of being of some little use to my old master Mr. Gladstone.

In that capacity I kept close relations with many old friends, and made some new ones.

Lord Ripon was the oldest, for when I was a lower boy at Eton I was recovering from scarlet fever, and was allowed

to talk to him at a distance at my father's house in New Street, Spring Gardens.

From that early beginning sprang a friendship close and intimate which lasted till his death.

I knew well Sir William Harcourt, who had been kind to me in early days when he was on a reading party in Yorkshire with my brother, and that kindness never ceased in stormier times.

Lord Granville, of whom I have written so much, Lord Spencer, and George Glyn, afterwards Lord Wolverton, were also old friends, and among those newer in political life whose acquaintance soon ripened into friendship were H. Asquith, Lord Rosebery, and John Morley.

## CHAPTER III

1892

### THE GENERAL ELECTION

WITH the close of the last chapter the story commenced by Sir Algernon in his *Recollections* is carried up virtually to the date at which his diaries begin to be filled with almost daily jottings about the very interesting circumstances of Mr. Gladstone's fourth and last Administration.

From Dalmeny (Lord Rosebery's place near Edinburgh) he writes to Lady West, under date July 5, 1892 :

"On returning to Wanborough<sup>1</sup> I found a letter from Rosebery saying, if I should care to 'survey and surprise Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian' he would be very glad to receive me at Dalmeny, though there would be no party.

"I had talked over this invitation with Lady Fanny Marjoribanks and Edward Hamilton, who both thought I ought to go, and as you are at Howick with your uncle I did not hesitate, but at once returned to London and started by the night mail, arriving in time for breakfast, and after it we drove into Edinburgh, where Mr. Gladstone made a speech. I was not impressed by the enthusiasm on the journey, though the meeting was enthusiastic enough."

(HIS DIARY NOTES)

Acton and Professor Donaldson were at dinner, but there was an indescribable cloud over the whole thing, which I cannot account for.

The next day, we went by train to Glasgow, where Mr. Gladstone had a really magnificent reception. It was a

<sup>1</sup> Wanborough Manor, Guildford, Sir Algernon's country house at this time.

bright day and the streets full and every window crowded. We drove to the Liberal Club and then to the theatre, where I was glad to find Miss Margot Tennant, who sat by me and made a goodish drawing of Mr. Gladstone; she was canvassing for Eddy, her brother, in Glasgow. The speech was dull for the most part, but well received, and his peroration on Castor and Pollux very fine.

On our return to Dalmeny at 7 Mr. Gladstone proposed a walk, and we discussed future possibilities and men. I strongly pressed Edward Marjoribanks as First Whip, and said I was sure he would take it if he was approached properly, and I equally pressed Spencer as First Lord of the Admiralty.

On the following day, Edward and Lady Fanny Marjoribanks came, and we had a pleasant walk and talk by the Forthside.

In the evening election telegrams kept pouring in, not so satisfactory as we had hoped—Rosebery always laying a strong emphasis on “your” victory, or “your” defeat, and said he meant it, as it did not interest or affect him in the slightest degree.

I felt I was no good, and determined to escape as soon as possible, and the very day I was going off Rosebery proposed a drive, taking me to his castle of Barnbogle, a very sacred spot where nobody went.

He for the first time talked politics, and declared his determination to leave them. Mr. Gladstone’s age made the whole prospect a terrible tragedy, and he did not want to take any part in it. I think at that time he was unaware of how much he (unwillingly, I am sure), by his vacillation, contributed to the tragedy that seemed inevitable, and how much he added by the fatal propensity of sensitive introspection to the difficulties with which Mr. Gladstone had to contend. He was a man well described by my friend Lord Welby as one who was always craving for sympathy and never knew how to get it. Bernard Shaw, in later years, described him as a man who never missed an occasion of losing an opportunity, and W. Johnson, afterwards Cory the Eton master, said in a classical allusion that he wanted the palm without the dust.



I left in the afternoon with Acton, who spoke much of his prospects of office, in which, I fear, he may be disappointed, as I feel sure that he has built too much on Mr. Gladstone's words of confidence.

And so ended my first visit to Dalmeny, for in the first Midlothian campaign, though I had been invited there, I could not in my position in the Civil Service take any part in politics.

(The following letters, two from Lord Acton and one from Sir E. Hamilton, were received by Sir Algernon after his return to London.)

BRÆMAR, *Sunday, July 17.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I executed yesterday your second commission touching the Whip. I said in substance that you will go bail for Marjoribanks accepting if he will let you set about it in your own way.

Mr. G. wants him to think about it, but I have left it soaking into his mind! I am not at all sure that he has not thought of Acland. Remember always that I am a poor hand at matters about which I have no knowledge of my own, and can add no weight to what I have received. He is still visibly depressed with the late experience and with the anxieties before him, and has not recovered his strength and spirits. But he is tolerably well, and works a good deal and walks two or three miles a day.

He will be at Hawarden late on Thursday, by the train you and I travelled by, and in London Monday or Tuesday following.

Ever yours, ACTON.

DALMENY PARK, EDINBURGH, *Sunday, July 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I arrived last night after dinner and your letter came this morning. I gave the enclosure to Harry Gl. and stated the case without showing him your letter.

There has been great depression, otherwise the change I perceive is an increased gentleness and kindness on the part of the host, which by no means excluded a discouraging influence.

It is a pity you are away. There came a letter from J. Morley, to which Mr. G. instantly wrote a reply—on a postcard. I said in that insinuating tone which I hope you recognize: “I think I would go the other halfpenny.” Mrs. G. went in and said that I had insisted on its being a closed letter; and obtained it with difficulty and not without making it appear very presuming.

Bryce dined here yesterday, and was not very welcome at first; but he gave the first note of defiance and fight that had reached the ear of Mr. G. No other adviser had written, except Morley, penitent and diminished, and therefore less persuasive in his encouragement. He comes here on Tuesday, Mr. G. does not now wish to stay at Hawarden, except perhaps to vote for Flintshire. There has been a plan to go to the Highlands; I have been obliged to resist any approximation to Carnegie, for a reason just now obvious and for another, permanent one, which they do not perceive. There is still some eye mischief, and ten days bracing air would be advisable. There is some talk now of Brighton, which I am afraid implies an invitation to Armitstead, who is in Aberdeenshire. Mrs. G. holds up well, to the admiration of Rosebery. Marjoribanks is here for the night, and cheers Mr. G. by his presence, if not by schemes of policy. I shall probably go up to town (Athenæum) by night train on Wednesday.

Ever yours, ACTON.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *July 14, 1892.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I entirely agree with you now, owing to the result of the last two days' elections. The majority for Mr. G. will be at least 50, I think—just big enough to make it necessary for Home Rule to be faced by him, with the certainty, of course, that anything he proposes will be wrecked. I can't bear to think of that dear old man having such a prospect before him with the risk of damaging his great name; nor can anybody to whom his name is precious think differently. I feel doubly depressed, because I not only foresee countless difficulties for him, but I see there will be inevitably a crisis in the career of the other men whose public career I have at

heart. Whenever the dreadful day comes for Mr. G. to form a Government, I hope you will let me give him and you a helping hand for the first week. I only wish I were like you and free to assist him to the end.

Yours always, E. HAMILTON.

Many thanks for writing.

The election was unsatisfactory in its results. Mr. Gladstone, who had been led to believe in a majority of not less than three figures, found he could only reckon on forty, including the Irish vote, in the new Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone's majority at Midlothian, which had been nearly five thousand before, fell below seven hundred.

As Herbert Paul said in his History, referring to Mr. Gladstone's becoming for the fourth time Prime Minister, "Only his indomitable courage and unshaken belief in the justice of his cause could have supported him in undertaking the task of forming a Government."

On July 26 I saw and had a long talk with Lord Spencer, and discussed very fully his future place in Mr. Gladstone's Administration. He said if he was to work again as he had done in 1886 in the preparation of an Irish Home Rule Bill, he would have no time to devote to an administrative department.

At the time of Mr. Gladstone's last Government he was a little hurt at only being offered the post of Lord President, but as a matter of fact he found that with Home Rule work he would have had no time for anything else.

I urged upon him the advisability of his being First Lord of the Admiralty—his grandfather having been there, and his father a distinguished captain; then the social position in connexion with the Navy was a factor which should not be regarded as a negligible quantity. Ripon, as a Roman Catholic, could not be Lord President. Lord Spencer had heard an idea of Acton's being in the Cabinet, which was impossible. He was politically unknown, and had had no official experience. He told me Oxenbridge would not take a Court appointment, which I thought absurd. Carrington was distinctly clever, but not perhaps as judicious as he might be.

The difficulties of my position would be great, but he would do his very best to help me in every way.

Leaving him, I met Randolph Churchill, who asked me to dine, but I was engaged, so we went and sat under the trees in the Green Park. He told me that he had it on high authority that the Parnellites would give Mr. Gladstone no trouble; that the Nationalists generally would be very submissive: Mr. Gladstone's main difficulty would be the want of loyalty among his own colleagues.

I told him of my anxiety that Marjoribanks should be First Whip—it was at this crisis a much more interesting and powerful position than Scottish Secretary. He agreed, and said he thought I should succeed if I put it in that light to Lady Fanny, who was very ambitious and anxious for his advancement. She would be sure to consult him, and he would back me up; he was at my service, and would always come if I telegraphed for him or wanted him. He said he was tired of racing. Asked him what he was going to do. He told me that at the Carlton they said he would get his knife into the new Government; but one thing which was quite certain was that he was not going to have a *réchauffé* of the Fourth Party, that there would be no violent hostility on his part, but that if the cleavage became great, as it would probably, between A. Balfour and Chamberlain, there might be room for him. He told me how the Tories hated Ritchie for his Local Government Bill, which was really a fine bit of Parliamentary work and the best thing the Government had done.

Walter of *The Times* was pressing hard for a Peerage.

Randolph Churchill told me that he had recommended the Tories to have no speech, and leave the onus of addressing the Crown on Mr. Gladstone.

I saw Miss Margot Tennant. She had heard from Arthur Balfour that Lord Salisbury gave Mr. Gladstone four years for his Government. She also said she knew that Asquith would not accept the Solicitor-Generalship.

In the afternoon to Coombe Wood, with my women typewriters from Somerset House. I was in later years glad to think that I had, after a battle royal with the

Treasury, been successful in being the first head of a big department to advocate successfully their employment.

I subsequently dined in Carlton Gardens, where Mr. Gladstone had bid me come for a very special talk with him and John Morley, but somehow it was a fiasco, though there was a little talk with them and Lord Spencer about Irish procedure. Acton was there, but it was distinctly dull, Mr. Gladstone being tired. The next day I had a little talk with Herschell at Brooks's, and then to Mr. Gladstone, who thought that no hard-and-fast lines should be drawn by him for his Secretariat, but that it should all be left to me, and time. He then showed me his secret Memorandum about Procedure on Home Rule by way of Resolution, which I did not much like. I reminded him that when at Coombe in 1886 he told me that it would be unconstitutional for a Government to proceed by resolution; he said, however, he could guard against its being only an abstract resolution by carrying it to the House of Lords and following it with a Cabinet Minute to be laid on the table of both Houses.

Got out for him what business in Parliament had been transacted in 1869-1870.

I told him it was cruel to let Acton stay on in London in the expectation that he would be in the Cabinet, when there was no room for him, and he certainly was labouring under that impression. He said it was difficult to tell him—would I do so? I did not like the job, but I went all the same, and finding him at the Senior United Service Club, broke it to him as well as I could, and, happily, he took it beautifully.

I suggested Carrington for Ireland and Aberdeen for Canada, or possibly, Lord Chamberlain.

Mr. Gladstone told me that Harcourt had said he would not remain a Deputy Leader for half an hour with Edward Marjoribanks as Whip. I begged Mr. Gladstone not to be bothered with it, as probably Harcourt would himself propose E. Marjoribanks to-morrow as Whip.

Dined with Welby and Acton at the St. James' Club—had a talk *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Welby reminded me of Bright's saying, amid shouts of laughter, that his friend Cobden spun long yarns of inferior quality.

Acton wrote later :

UNITED SERVICE CLUB, PALL MALL, S.W., July 29, 1892.

MY DEAR WEST,—Would it be right to trouble Mr. Gladstone with one point raised last night ?

If Rosebery accepts, it is hardly likely that after so much tergiversation he will accept *sans phrase*. The minimum I take to be that he would say : “I come in to pursue the continuity of foreign policy. I did it before with the approval of my colleagues and with some success. The principle has been reaffirmed inasmuch as we have abstained from attack, and the front bench always repressed Bryce ; and in some cases we have distinctly declared our acceptance of Salisbury’s policy.”

This would seem rational and statesmanlike. But it would not give him a free hand, because it would involve Salisbury’s engagements with the Triple Alliance. Whatever they are, we cannot be bound by them when the French begin their approaches. Adopted by both parties, they would commit the country dangerously and inflexibly. The prospect of successful negotiations with France depends on a benignant and elastic interpretation of our engagements with the enemies of France. In fact, the innocent device I imagine R. to propose would imply the abdication of the Premier and the reversal of the rule established against Palmerston. I would venture to hope that Mr. G. would not yield more than this : that he undoubtedly intended to give a general approval of Salisbury’s Continental policy, so far as it was manifest, patent, and documentary, and as it aimed at the maintenance of peace.

Ever yours, ACTON.

JULY.—Called on Mr. Gladstone early in the morning and talked of Acton as Chancellor of the Duchy. I thought that when Bright had filled that office arrangements had been made for the disposal of livings. He denied this, but I cannot but think I am right.

Asked me what title or description I should take. I said “None.”

What I had to guard against was jealousy, and the

best plan was to keep myself in the background as far as possible; but he was anxious that it should be known that I was chief of the staff.

I said this could be announced in the paper, which was afterwards admirably done by Alfred Milner in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Later in the day, on John Morley's advice, he wrote a short note, asking Rosebery when he would be in London.

I saw Lady Ripon and drove with her; she said Ripon would like the Colonial Office.

Talked over people and things. Mentioned Lady Granville as Mistress of the Robes to Mr. Gladstone, without much effect.

Had tea with Margot; found the whole family anxious about Ribblesdale—his chances of Mastership of the Buckhounds.

Then to see Lady Fanny Marjoribanks: a long walk and talk with her in the park, and found her very grieved at my proposal that Edward should be Whip. Did my best to persuade her of its advantages and importance. Then a talk with Marjoribanks himself, who said he placed his services at Mr. Gladstone's disposal unreservedly. Lady Fanny pursued us protesting, but I think a little feebly.

Dined at Armitstead's—George Russell, R. Reid, H. Gladstone, Mundella, and Acton—with whom I had a talk later at Brooks's. He had good news from Ireland about the Parnellites.

I agree with Disraeli's opinion that a man dinner is one of the penalties of middle life, for men are never at their best without the stimulating presence of woman's society.

JULY 30.—Breakfasted with Armitstead. Herbert determined to refuse office, and asked me to help him with his father. This I refused, because I did not agree, but I promised if he succeeded I would do all I could to smooth things over.

Saw Arnold Morley, who was being petitioned against, and was worried by it. He still protested against office.

## CHAPTER IV

1892

### CABINET MAKING

AUGUST 1, 1892.—To Carlton Gardens and found that Mr. Gladstone was not well or down. Sir Andrew Clark told me he was not so satisfied as he had been the day before—no doubt there were some crepitations in his side, and he was eighty-two.

Mr. Gladstone sent for Acton. Arnold Morley, who came at the same time, had told Mr. G. there was some feeling of jealousy about him, which Spencer confirmed, and which poor I had again to communicate to Acton.

AUGUST 2.—Mr. Gladstone was much better and it was settled that he should write to Asquith and Burt to propose and second the Queen's Speech when the new Government came in.

Saw Sir W. Harcourt, who did not like the Amendment to the Queen's Speech of Lord Salisbury's Government proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and suggested following the precedents of 1841 and 1859, in which John Morley agreed.

Both spoke again of Acton, for whom, they said, there was no room.

Saw Lady Sydney, and told her of my wife's suggestion of the Dowager Duchess of Bedford (as I thought) to be Mistress of the Robes, but it turned out, as I learnt later, that she meant the Dowager Duchess of Wellington. She approved and thought it possible.

AUGUST 3.—Saw Sir Andrew Clark, who said Mr. Gladstone might go to the House of Commons, though there would be some slight risk.

Afterwards I met John Morley, who said that the Irish were as pleasant as possible.

An inner Cabinet.



Mr. Gladstone asked me about Dalmeny and what I had observed. I said I thought there had been a misunderstanding throughout, and that on my arrival I had found Rosebery hurt at Mr. Gladstone's not having talked to him of politics, and that later he had avoided Mr. Gladstone rather ostentatiously.

AUGUST 4.—To Carlton Gardens. Met Loulou Harcourt, who told me Rosebery's refusal to take office had gone to Arnold Morley to deliver to Mr. Gladstone, saying he must retire altogether from public life, which he hated and was unfitted for. I urged on Mr. Gladstone a personal appeal, which at first he resisted, but soon after he dictated to me a very nice letter, putting before him the position, his own age, etc. I took it to Spencer at his wish. He was out, so Lady Spencer drove me to Harcourt's, where we found him, and then with Harcourt to the House of Commons, where we caught John and Arnold Morley. After some discussion it was settled that John Morley should go down with the letter to Dalmeny—a noble act of self-sacrifice, which Mr. Gladstone did not sufficiently appreciate, thinking all the time that Rosebery was at the Durdans.

Dined at 40 Grosvenor Square<sup>1</sup>—Henry Matthews, A. Milner, Acton, M. de Stael, Sir Charles Tennant, Cowpers. Matthews made himself rather disagreeable to Acton and myself. He gave Mr. Gladstone two years in which he would pass a Home Rule Bill and a great Reform Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Peel was this day once more elected Speaker.

AUGUST 5.—To see Sir William Harcourt. Talked of Kimberley for Foreign Office if Rosebery were obdurate. Saw Arnold Morley and combated his wish to stand aside.

AUGUST 6.—Wanborough. Rode home—found Lady Ripon there. Ripon came later and we made Cabinets all the evening.

Next day I rode over, starting in heavy rain, to Hatchlands, where Mr. Gladstone was staying with Rendel. Received a telegram from Rosebery and John Morley, in a cipher we had agreed on, which was favourable to Rose-

<sup>1</sup> 40 Grosvenor Square was Sir C. Tennant's town house.

bery's joining the Government. I again pressed Ribblesdale as against others for the Buckhounds.

Rode back, found Acton and Haldane. It was a lovely evening. A long talk with Haldane on the young party in Parliament.

Arthur Acland was his ideal, and he proposed that if not in the Cabinet he should be put at the head of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade. Edward Grey would not join unless some such arrangement were made. Haldane wrote his views to me at great length, which I read to Mr. Gladstone in the train on Monday, going up from Hatchlands.

Haldane told me of a long conversation he had had lately with Chamberlain, who clearly was looking forward to leading the Liberals. Said his position in keeping a Tory Government in was very different from that of supporting them when out. He should support all social reforms which were not for party advantages (very oracular, I thought).

Haldane assured me he would do all he could to keep all quiet below the gangway.

AUGUST 8.—There was a meeting at 12 o'clock at Carlton Gardens for Queen's Speech, which Mr. Gladstone read.

Sir W. Harcourt showed me his proposed Cabinet—Asquith and Acland in it; Ripon, Duchy! G. Trevelyan, Scotland. I urged Spencer for the Admiralty, but he said that as Chancellor of Exchequer he wanted a weak man there who would give way to him! With Harcourt to House of Commons, for the Opening. Good speech from Asquith, who moved a vote of want of confidence in Lord Salisbury's Government (carried three days later), and poor one from Burt.

Dined with Herbert Gardner. Met only anxious faces, amongst others, Mr. Fletcher, the Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, with whom I talked. When the Secretariat was arranged with Mr. Gladstone, I went to see George Murray at the Treasury to ask him if, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, he would consent to be Mr. Gladstone's private secretary. I explained to him my

position, which he understood perfectly, and from that day to the end of Mr. Gladstone's Government we never had one moment's difference or difficulty. Mr. Gladstone had the advantage of his exceptional abilities and I of making a friendship which did not terminate with Mr. Gladstone's tenure of office.

My old friend Spencer Lyttelton, of course, came back, and specially undertook ecclesiastical and royal bounty questions, and I had the good luck to bring with me Hans Shand, who had been my secretary as Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, and to whom I owed so much.

To House of Commons ; heard a vigorous speech from Mr. Gladstone, and afterwards dined at Arthur Hayter's—Spencers, Lady Fanny Marjoribanks. Lady Fanny said the Irish wanted Aberdeen as Viceroy. Cyril Flower<sup>1</sup> wanted a Peerage, which surprised me—and the Buckhounds, which cannot be.

AUGUST 11.—Rosebery came to me saying that he wished he could have been spared the interview; but otherwise appearing fairly cheerful. However, when Mr. Gladstone arrived he absolutely refused office. I saw Henry Ponsonby in St. James's, and had a satisfactory talk. Mr. Gladstone and I went away together, unseen, leaving Ponsonby to escape afterwards.

AUGUST 12.—Had a long talk with Francis Knollys, who is the *alter ego* of the Prince of Wales in many ways.

Among the many difficulties attendant upon the formation of all Governments, one arose on this occasion of a peculiar nature, the problem to be solved whether Mr. Labouchere should or should not be given office. He had attained a position of considerable importance in the House of Commons and in the journalistic world, and certainly possessed the power of making himself disagreeable if he retained his seat below the gangway. On the other hand was to be set the fact that he was proprietor and editor of *Truth*, and there were also certain personal reasons in the way. Mr. Bertram Currie, as an old friend, nobly offered his services as a mediator, and thought he

<sup>1</sup> He got it, with the title of Lord Battersen.

could persuade Labouchere to avow his reluctance to hold office, but this endeavour, undertaken out of kindness both to the Government and to Labouchere, fell through. There was a great feeling against his being included in the sacred ranks of Privy Councillors. After many discussions and *pourparlers*, it was settled that he was not to be offered office. This decision provoked some attacks on Her Majesty in *Truth*, who, it was insinuated, had prevented the offer being made. Mr. Gladstone, with his usual loyalty to the Queen, took the whole responsibility of Labouchere's exclusion from office on himself.

Baulked in this, Labouchere applied for the Ambassadorship at Washington, which would not, were it not for certain personal reasons, have been unpopular in the United States.

But, unfortunately, Lord Rosebery, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as he had become by this time, had been abused in violent terms in the pages of *Truth*, and it would have been impossible for Lord Rosebery to offer, or Labouchere to accept from him, such a post.

I went to see the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House. He was very nice and sympathetic about dear Gilbert and his own boy.

(Gilbert was a son whom Sir Algernon and Lady West had lately lost. When the Duke of Clarence died, the Prince of Wales wrote, in answer to a letter of condolence from Lady West)

OSBORNE, February 6.

MY DEAR LADY WEST,—From so old a friend as yourself I deeply value your kind expressions of sympathy contained in your letter on the occasion of our overwhelming grief. To lose one's eldest beloved son at the age of 28 after a few days' illness is a calamity to any parents, but when in a few months he had the prospect of great happiness in his marriage it makes the blow for us all the harder.

Our only consolation is the great sympathy that is

being shown us on every side, and it soothes our aching hearts to know that so many feel with and for us.

Believe me, yours sincerely, ALBERT EDWARD.

The Prince asked me for news. I said I could only tell him what I thought best for Mr. Gladstone, who was the only remaining Conservative, in which he agreed, and I was sure he would make no appointments until he was in a position to do so by Her Majesty's commands.

Said my son Gilbert had a great reputation as a good officer. I told him of his brave death.

Told him that Herschell would be Lord Chancellor, and I hoped Spencer First Lord of the Admiralty. He entirely agreed, and said it was most important. Hoped he would keep on Admiral Hoskins at the Admiralty.

Then for War Office he thought Campbell-Baunerman excellent. Hoped Rosebery would join the Government. Her Majesty would write if it was thought judicious. I thought not.

He thought the Duchess of Bedford would do as Mistress of the Robes. Would not like Kensington as Lord Chamberlain, though he would do for Lord Steward. Cork would not vote against Mr. Gladstone, but did not dare accept office, as he would be led such a life at home. Lord Carrington would be the best Lord Chamberlain. Chesterfield ought to have an appointment.

I was very glad to have had this confidential talk, and H.R.H. said that he would send for me whenever he had anything to suggest or say. Urged me to go to Osborne with Mr. Gladstone when he went down to kiss hands. Said I feared making myself ridiculous. He said, of course there could be no fear of that.

Went to see Spencer. I told him how anxious the Prince of Wales was that he should be First Lord. He would like it, I am sure, but would not say so. Gave me, however, permission to communicate his views to Mr. Gladstone.

There was a meeting at Mr. Gladstone's; Harcourt, Kimberley, J. Morley and Arnold Morley, Spencer, and Marjoribanks.

Acland's position discussed as regards the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone was startled, and asked me to read Haldane's letter, but I said it was now out of date.

Spencer, I hope, will go to the Admiralty; War Office for Campbell-Bannerman certainly, and Home Office for Asquith, with Burt as Under-Secretary. Herbert Gardner or Shuttleworth for Agriculture. Playfair and Stansfeld, Peerages; the former accepted, the latter refused rather angrily.

Henry Ponsonby came, and acquiesced in my suggestion that Privy Councillorships should not be given to smaller Household officers. The Prince of Wales approved, and wished to exclude Master of Buckhounds. Afterwards it was decided that this office should be abolished.

Henry Ponsonby told me Her Majesty suggested and wished that I should go to Osborne with Mr. Gladstone.

I hinted to Mr. Gladstone that I should not come up on Sunday, but he said I was of such comfort and use that he hoped I would do so.

Told Mr. Gladstone of Welby's and my wish that Arnold Morley should be Secretary to the Treasury, but Mr. Gladstone said he must be in the Cabinet and Post Office.

Herbert Gladstone told me his father thought of the Foreign Office for him as Under-Secretary, which was ridiculous, as he was ignorant of foreign places, languages, and people: hoped it might be Colonial Office or Home Office.

W. Harcourt said there would be a row as the Lords claimed more than their fair proportion of seats in the Cabinet, and row there was—W. Harcourt being first violent and then refusing to speak. Edward Marjoribanks was sent for and Campbell-Bannerman. Mr. Gladstone rather annoyed by John Morley, who was making difficulties about his Viceroy for Ireland.

I was sorry to find that Mr. Gladstone was at the time buoying himself up with the hope of a majority of not less than three figures, and I feared he would be much disappointed.

John Morley said Tim Healy, with his bitter tongue, was the great obstacle to a mending of the Parnellite

split, and told us of a fine trait in the Irish body. When the Home Rule Bill was given to Parnell to see, he asked leave to show it confidentially to six of his colleagues, and after the introduction of the Bill, Parnell said to him: "You see how absolutely your secret was kept." Most of the six, John Morley added, were men in communication with the Press, and all of them knew that they could have made one or two thousands by the publication of the secret.

It had been rumoured that Randolph Churchill would go as Ambassador to Paris, but I heard that Lord Salisbury would not sanction it on account of his "flirtation" with Boulanger, in whom at one time Randolph had believed. M. Ribot said Paris would prefer Randolph to Dufferin, on account of the part he had taken in connexion with the Triple Alliance.

Akers Douglas told Goschen that Arthur Balfour was to be their Leader. Goschen said Lord Salisbury had promised the reversion to him, but Akers Douglas had answered that it was not Lord Salisbury but the Tory Party who would not accept him. Goschen was much annoyed, and said they were most ungrateful, as, indeed, they were.

AUGUST 15.—A letter from W. Harcourt about general arrangements, which troubled Mr. Gladstone, but I persuaded him not to answer it, and let it blow over. I started from Carlton Gardens with Mr. Gladstone to Waterloo Station; a lovely day for our journey.

Before starting, Mr. Gladstone had written a final letter to Lord Rosebery, saying, if he did not hear to the contrary, he should submit his name to Her Majesty as Foreign Secretary.

We arrived at Portsmouth about 2, and crossed in the *Alberta*, landing at Ryde about 3.30. We were not received by anybody from Osborne House. There were cheers and some hisses. At the door Cowell and Henry Ponsonby met us and took us to our rooms, giving us telegrams—including an important one from Lord Rosebery, "Be it so," and that was all. This is a momentary relief; I hope work may restore his health and his nerve.

Mr. Gladstone went to the Queen about 4, while I sat writing in Major Bigge's room close by. On his coming out he said the interview had been such as took place between Marie Antoinette and her executioner. She was civil and courteous, but not one word more, even when Mr. Gladstone alluded to his own growing infirmities.

(Sir Algernon spent the time of waiting in Major Bigge's room in writing to Lady West, who had been to Waterloo Station to see him and the great man off.)

OSBORNE, *August 15, 1892.*

I don't know, dearest, why you were so nervous and why you escaped in such a hurry before we went off. Your nosegay is now in the presence of H.M. We have just had a telegram from Rosebery accepting, and Mr. G. has gone in while I am sitting in Major Bigge's room looking out under this Italian sky over the Italian Garden, and close to the fountain, to the sea. Certainly very lovely.

The crossing, in the old *Alberta* painted up, was so successful and snug; had a great reception at Portsmouth and a fair one at Cowes. I have seen Cowell and Miss Paget and H. Ponsonby—as yet 4 o'clock—Mr. G. just out of his interview and we have gone up to his room for tea—a v. good one and he eat [*sic*] some chicken and an egg, as they don't dine till 9.

H.M. was civil and courteous, but nothing more.

We meant to go viâ Southampton and be in London at 1.35. I will try and get down anyhow to-morrow—even if by a latish train.

God bless you, dearest.

Look in to-night's *Pall Mall*.

Yours, A. E. W.

More than thirty years since we were here together.

I had not shown Mr. Gladstone the Court Circular, in which it was stated that the Queen had received Lord Salisbury's resignation “with regret,” an unusual pro-



cedure. Henry Ponsonby said he was away at the time, but it was inserted at Her Majesty's own desire ! I said, though original and without precedent, no one could object if to-morrow's Circular said she had accepted Mr. Gladstone's accession with pleasure !

Found Mr. Gladstone had forgotten to kiss hands. Upstairs with Mr. Gladstone to his room, where there were pictures of Lord Sydney, Disraeli, Bishop Tait, Frith's "By the Sea," Noel Paton's "Wounded Soldier," and other fearful copies, daubs, and lodging-house ornaments ; a Maid of Honour was strumming on a pianoforte next door.

Then I took a long walk with H. Ponsonby, who told me that Hartington had just announced his marriage, which was to take place to-morrow.

Discussed the Cabinet.

Houghton's an excellent appointment.

Abolition of Buckhounds.

Privy Councillorships for minor Wands should cease, in which he thought H.M. would agree.

Dined at the cottage with Lady Ponsonby. Only N. Dalrymple there, Henry Ponsonby being ordered to dine with the Queen.<sup>1</sup>

When he came in he said that Mr. Gladstone had kissed hands. Her Majesty had said, "This should have been done this afternoon."

They had had a pleasant dinner, and Mr. Gladstone had had a long talk with the Princess of Wales. Henry Ponsonby had said, "Why, Ma'am, you appear to be a Home Ruler." She said, "Yes, I think I am." The Prince of Wales was very favourably inclined to Mr. Gladstone, and had written to Lord Rosebery saying he should not desert his friends. He said that Lord Salisbury had been mercilessly pestered by his friends for honours, and the only really grateful man was Godley, who had been allowed not to take the G.C.S.I., which he said was not appro-

<sup>1</sup> Hon. North and Mrs. Dalrymple, afterwards Earl and Countess of Stair. Sir Algernon told me that he was convinced the Queen intended a deliberate slight to him personally in thus commanding his host to dine with her and not including him, after specially requesting that he should come to Osborne with Mr. Gladstone. With King Edward, Sir Algernon's relations were always most cordial.

priate for him as a home official. It had been a lovely day, and the place had much improved since I was there on our honeymoon, over thirty years ago; but the next was a real damp, depressing Osborne day, with leaves dropping slowly down by their own weight.

With Henry Ponsonby to Osborne House, where I breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone. Met Duke of Connaught. Mr. Gladstone delighted with Princess of Wales.

We started at 10 for Cowes. Mrs. N. Dalrymple was on the pier and I introduced her to Mr. Gladstone, though at the moment I could not recollect her name. Crossed and had a wet passage in *Elfin* to Southampton, where we were met by M.P.s and Mayors, etc. Arrived punctually at Waterloo and drove to Carlton Gardens. Mr. Gladstone went off at once to Lady Mary Leveson-Gower's (Lord Granville's daughter) wedding in the Abbey to Mr. Hugh Morrison, of Fonthill, Wilts.

Questions :

Who is to be Deputy Master of the Mint? <sup>1</sup>

Question of the Edinburgh-Roumanian marriage,<sup>2</sup> which the Queen does not like on account of religions?

Who is to go to inquire into Newfoundland finance, and *hoc genus omne*?

In all Household arrangements the Prince of Wales was very helpful; he was surprised at Lord Ashburnham refusing a Lordship in Waiting, though he "knew he was a Jacobite and looked on the Queen and her family as usurpers."<sup>3</sup> He was anxious for the Queen's sake that Lord Playfair should be appointed.

I went to Spencer's—he and she then talked over many things, and about Acton, whose position is difficult, and I think cruel, if he gets nothing.

AUGUST 17.—A Council, to which Rosebery came for the first time, looking wretched, and I consoled with him.

<sup>1</sup> The Hon. Sir Charles Fremantle, a very old friend of Sir Algernon, retained this office from 1870 to 1894.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Edinburgh's daughter was shortly afterwards married to Prince Ferdinand of Roumania.

<sup>3</sup> An ancestor of this, the 5th, Earl Ashburnham had been sent to the Tower by Cromwell for abetting King Charles's escape from Hampton Court in 1647.

Mr. Gladstone left London for Hawarden, and I took Horace to see Asquith at the Home Office.

AUGUST 22.—Saw Edward Marjoribanks and settled about Ribblesdale's appointment, after endless trouble.

Horace's first day at Home Office.

AUGUST 23.—From Wanborough up to London, and saw Acton, who had been offered the Captaincy of the Yeomen of the Guard, instead of Kensington, which was too grotesque. I persuaded him of the absurdity of his wearing a big helmet and sword, and got him to take a Lordship-in-Waiting, which, though a very small office, was not so ridiculous.

AUGUST 24.—Rosebery happy, and I hope Kensington will be so too. After all, the number of broken hearts has been minimised.

Eddy Hamilton proposed that Horace should be Houghton's secretary, but we both thought he was better where he was. I arranged that Herbert Jekyll should have the post, and Houghton agreed.

AUGUST 25.—I wrote to Mr. Gladstone suggesting Lady Granville for Mistress of Robes.

AUGUST 26.—Heard from Bertram Currie giving an account of his interview with Labouchere, which I sent on, asking Mr. Gladstone to thank B. Currie, who, though not successful, had undertaken a disagreeable job.

Labouchere writes a letter to Mr. Gladstone, friendly to him personally, and cleverly assuming Mr. Gladstone had recommended him to the Queen.

Travelled to Guildford with Sir W. Harcourt, who was going to Osborne with Asquith. Asquith said he and Horace were getting on very well. Harcourt spoke of C. Greville's saying, when telling of the Duke of Buckingham's being hard up and his establishment too large—three Italian confectioners—"Well, a man must have a biscuit!"

Saw Rosebery about appointments of Lords to represent departments. Asked me to put a memo. in circulation to the effect that "no arrangements were to be made without reference to Lord Rosebery, who, in Lord Kimberley's absence, would deal with the question." These

words Rosebery begged me to insert as he had not at all accepted the leadership.

Harry Lawson called on me ; was unhappy at having lost his seat and wanted employment ! I said that though it was impossible to give him anything to do for Mr. Gladstone, I would see what I could do in other directions. Spoke to Harcourt, and suggested that he might find some use for him, to which suggestion he seemed very favourable.

## CHAPTER V

1892

### APPOINTMENTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

SEPTEMBER 6.—Had a long talk with Rosebery, discussing Lords-in-Waiting, who are very troublesome. He said Mr. Gladstone was taking for the first time a tremendous interest in the Pamirs, of which he had probably never heard before.

There was an annoying paragraph in the papers—that the evacuation of Egypt had begun, which was, of course, a lie.

Charles Russell told Rosebery that Lord Coleridge said it had been communicated to him that Herschell was going to India or Canada, and that though he was fully conscious of his own unworthiness, yet he would consent to be Lord Chancellor for Mr. Gladstone's sake. Lord Rosebery was under the belief that Herschell was going to India.

Rosebery and I agreed in wishing more progress was being made with the Irish Bill. He feared that John Morley, who had been at Hawarden, would defer too much to Mr. Gladstone.

Harcourt had gone to Wiesbaden to consult the famous oculist about his eyes. Lord Rosebery was the only Minister in London, and he was going to Balmoral. Kimberley, he said, was much pleased with being Lord President because he thought it would give him more papers to initial. Lord Rosebery admitted that work suited him and he was grieved to leave it, even for a day. He was sorry that Lady Granville had not been made Mistress of the Robes, and regretted that the two dowager Duchesses—Bedford and Wellington—were impossibilities.

SEPTEMBER 24.—While Mr. Gladstone was busy with his Romanes Lecture, which he was to deliver at Oxford,

troubles were beginning about Uganda, the resources of the British East Africa Company not enabling them to keep it on. Some proposed that it should be handed over to the ruler of Zanzibar, who was to receive a subsidy.

Sir W. Harcourt approved of this, and was in agreement with Gerald Portal and Lugard. Asquith, while seeing that it would mean our doing the work and Zanzibar getting the subsidy, was prepared to agree, believing that evacuation would be impossible. The matter was serious, and I wrote to Arthur Godley, privately, for his opinion, who answered me that, as the man in the street, he was inclined to believe that the Government would make a mistake from the point of expediency if they evacuated.

“They will certainly run a great risk; and unless we are to suppose that Portal is an absolute fool, evacuation must have results which cannot fail to damage them more or less; on the other hand, it is a choice of evils, for the decision to remain would, of course, bring them trouble in Parliament. But it certainly seems to me that they will risk more by retiring than remaining, and if I were in the Cabinet, with no more knowledge than that which I now possess, I should vote accordingly. I am not a Jingo, and I wish we had never mixed ourselves up with these matters; but here, as on the Indian frontier and elsewhere, we must accept facts—so much for expediency, but as far as I can make out, morality points the same way.

“Of course, if it is decided not to evacuate, the railways must follow, and this could be defended like the railway to Quetta, on the ground that, although we ought never to have gone there, we are there: we cannot, owing to the fault of our predecessors, retire; and the railway is a necessary and inevitable result!!!”

Going to Studley, I had a long talk with Ripon on this subject, and found that he was not aware how serious it was from Rosebery's point of view—which was strong against evacuation. “It would look so nice on the map,” he said, “if we could make a swop with Germany for the Damara Lands.” But this, Rosebery says, is

out of the question. I think it must end in the Government guaranteeing a loan to the Company in possession for a railway.

Harcourt had written as to Uganda, a very able and, more, a very violent letter against continued occupation. Rosebery feared that a massacre might follow if we insisted on evacuation. Read Mr. Gladstone's memo. on it, which I did not think very powerful, and R. Anderson's<sup>1</sup> memo., which was very jingoish and aggressive.

On September 26 had a real long talk with Rosebery. Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone are terribly strong about doing nothing, and Rosebery said all the Cabinet would be against him. While thoroughly agreeing with all Harcourt says about the Soudanese ruffians, and about the nonsense talked by R. Anderson on the jingo ideas of the slave trade in the Basin of the Nile, Equatorial Africa and the trade of it, I agree with Rosebery as to its being a *damnosa hereditas* bequeathed by the late Government with which this Government, *nolens volens*, will have to deal, and think that something must be done at any rate to avoid a massacre.

SEPTEMBER 28.—Saw Francis Villiers, who told me how serious it was with Lord Rosebery, so went early to see him at Berkeley Square. He thinks he will have no support in the Cabinet. He feared the excitability of Mr. Gladstone which we had experienced at Dalmeny.

To meet Mr. Gladstone at Lady F. Cavendish's at 4 o'clock, who, before he had taken off his coat, began very warmly on Uganda; was horrified and astonished to find how Rosebery had given way to the jingoism of the Foreign Office, and said how annoyed he was to find a Cabinet called to settle difficulties which had arisen between the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

I told him how much I had seen lately of Rosebery, how conciliatory I had found him, and how anxious for a compromise—a *modus vivendi*—but he feared that there would be a massacre at Uganda, and that all the warnings given by our responsible officers were to that effect. I

<sup>1</sup> Robert Anderson, C.M.G., Deputy Chief Engineer of the Uganda Railway.

urged him, while agreeing in all his anti-jingoism and all Harcourt had said, to endeavour to meet Rosebery in some compromise, but he said he would sooner die than submit to a military occupation and the adoption of Emin's ruffians.

Then back to Rosebery; told him I was alarmed, but that he had better see Mr. Gladstone, though I feared that W. Harcourt was with him then, and that he would be fanning the flame, which was bright enough already.

Rosebery showed me his very temperate Minute. He said he slept badly as it was, and he could not sleep at all if after all our warnings we allowed the story of Khartoum to be repeated. He showed me also his letter to Mr. Gladstone, which was not quite as conciliatory as I could have wished; and at my request he kindly tore it up. I urged him very strongly to drop his proposal of a military occupation, as I was sure Mr. Gladstone would not consent to that. He said he would consent to drop it. Then I suggested paying the Company something more to stay on, which he would consent to if others, and Harcourt, who would have to provide the money, would agree.

To Carlton House Gardens with him, and left him there, not envying him the meeting.

Mr. Gladstone, A. Godley, Welby, and S. Whitbread, dined at Brooks's. Talked of mountains and Snowdon and Etna, and other subjects, to me very uninteresting at this moment, when the "little victims," i.e. the Cabinet, were all "unconscious of their doom."<sup>1</sup> Directly after dinner J. Morley joined us. He told me Rosebery meant mischief, that Mr. Gladstone had been very warm and excited with him, and that things looked black.

Later on John Morley got in a more peaceful state of mind, and discussed his staff in Ireland. He does not think West Ridgeway will be able to remain. His own Permanent Secretary he believes is a Tory and an Orangeman; that he was badly served. Rosebery came in and told me Mr. Gladstone had been very excited at his interview.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps literally "unconscious" rather than, as in the original, "regardless."



SEPTEMBER 29.—Saw Lord Spencer, who had just arrived from Balmoral; laid the whole case before him, and begged him to separate the two questions:

- (1) The Uganda Question and policy.
- (2) The Government position.

They might be unanimous on the first and find a compromise on the second. I thought our conversation satisfactory.

Breakfasted at Brooks's and called on Mr. Gladstone, who again began at once on Uganda.

I told him boldly that from what I had gathered from Rosebery, if nothing was done, the Government would be broken up. He said he did not believe it. Then I said, what I meant was, that Rosebery would resign, and at this very early period of his Administration it would be most damaging. He said it would be worse for Rosebery than the Government. This, I said, might be, but the blow would be a heavy one. "Surely," I said, "there might be a compromise."

"What is your compromise?" he said. I replied that he was far cleverer than I was, but if nobody suggested a better one I would suggest making some pecuniary payment to the Company for a time, and asked him if my proposal was not, at any rate, a way out of the immediate difficulty. He admitted that it furnished good grounds for discussion, and sat down at his table and wrote the proposal to Rosebery, at which I was delighted and rushed off in pursuit of Rosebery and implored him to consider it as a compromise, which he said it was.

Walked, after a Cabinet meeting, with Mr. Gladstone, who told me that they had settled to act on a suggestion of Portal's, that if the evacuation was to take place an extension of time should be given to the Chartered Company. The Cabinet had accepted this, and agreed to three months' delay and a grant of money. The details of the Minute were to be left to Harcourt, Rosebery, and Herschell.

So the crisis is over, and I hope we may be happy. It is the obvious result of such moments that each man is apt to exaggerate the importance of the part he has

played. But trying hard to view it dispassionately, I think I have been of use.

I then had lunch with Herschell and Asquith, who continued to be pleased with Horace. Harcourt came in and repeated to me the Minute he had dictated, and to which Rosebery and Herschell had agreed.

OCTOBER 1892.—At the beginning of October everyone was gone into the country again but Asquith, with whom I had a talk one day, when he told me his plan for meetings in Trafalgar Square, which appeared reasonable and workable.

On October 5 I went to "Glen," Sir Charles Tennant's. Oscar Wilde came there the night before I left, and was very amusing. He told us of a visit he had paid to Zola, whom he found exhausted after his work the *Débâcle*. He told him that a novelist and writer must know everything or nothing. Either he must draw on his imagination for everything or be realistic; his was the latter school, and he had just come back from his second and final visit to Sedan, to be sure that what he had written was actually correct. As a poor student he had lived in the Quartier Latin with a little shop-girl—a grisette—and when he sprang into fame by his *Nana* he at once married her. "She can't," he said, "even now read, but she makes a good mistress of my household, and is a good judge of art, and particularly of tapestry."

When Routh, the old President of Magdalen, was dying, and all the dons were assembled at his deathbed, he summoned one to him and said: "You will put it down as 100, will you not?" He was really ninety-nine and nine months; and so on his tomb is put "C."

Spencer Lyttelton and George Murray kindly kept me well informed of all that went on in Downing Street, the former saying that Rosebery was very anxious that Lord Playfair should accept the Lordship-in-Waiting, as he would help him on Scottish matters in the House; also that the Queen still objected to Lord Granville as too young. Murray told me that he had visited the British Museum and discovered that Swinburne had never withdrawn a word of his poems and ballads, but on the con-

trary had published a pamphlet in defence of them, and had circulated a poem against the execution of the Manchester Fenians ; so I am afraid that his chances of the Laureateship are over.

During my visit at the Glen we went to a *matinée* at Glasgow in which the Beerbohm Trees acted ; we dined and slept at Sir Charles' house and supped with the Beerbohm Trees, which was dull, as such things always are, the talk being invariably "shop."

Lord Tennyson having died on the 6th, the question of his Laureateship was much discussed. Swinburne, had he been possible, appeared to be the favourite, from the Prince of Wales downwards ; but it was impossible. Mr. Gladstone is, however, I hear, in correspondence with Her Majesty, and suggests Ruskin, who, as Spencer Lyttelton says, is seventy-three, nearly out of his mind, and never wrote a poem anyone ever read. I believe it is in Her Majesty's gift as a household appointment.

It is sad, but inevitable, that on the death of a great man the first thought that arises is, who is to fill, or try to fill, his place ? and this inevitable fact arose on the death of Lord Tennyson, the Poet Laureate. In the first instance some difficulty was experienced in determining with whom the appointment rested, whether Tennyson's appointment was made by Her Majesty or the First Lord of the Treasury ? The vacancy in an office, unpolitical and paid out of the Civil List, appeared to be a matter for the Queen herself. But with whomsoever the appointment rested, there were not wanted advisers as to the poet on whom the honour was to fall. I recollect that before Tennyson's death the matter had been discussed at a dinner, at which I was present, given by Haldane and Asquith at the Blue Posts.

Arthur Balfour, if I recollect right, was in favour of Swinburne, but of course there would be objections to this in consequence of his early revolutionary poems. C. Bowen had suggested Bridges, of whom, I must confess, I had never even heard : but now the hour had come, and who was to be the man ? and who was to appoint him ? It was stated that on Wordsworth's death the

office was offered by Lord John Russell to Rogers and then T. Moore, so it was assumed that the laureateship was to be in Mr. Gladstone's gift. Balfour would have liked Swinburne, had it been thought possible. Lewis Morris, of "The Epic of Hades," was spoken of; also William Morris, "The Earthly Paradise." The latter was probably the better poet, but he was supposed to have socialistic or Nihilist proclivities. Frederick Locker was mentioned, and Mr. Gladstone had some leaning to Ruskin, but it was ascertained from Burne Jones that any work or excitement brought on a recurrence of his mental trouble. The Queen was anxious that the office should not be abolished, and the Prince of Wales was in favour of Swinburne; as there appeared objections to everybody it was settled to let the matter stand over. On Lord Salisbury becoming Prime Minister, he selected Alfred Austin—an appointment to be laughed at by men and gods. At the same time a Garter became vacant and was offered to Lord Rosebery, who, *more suo*, hesitated about accepting it, but eventually became a K.G.

(In connexion with Lord Tennyson's death, and his successor, Sir Algernon has the following notes, appended in 1918:)

On October 6, 1892, Lord Tennyson died. To me he appeared the greatest poet, and at times I used to think that he was inspired; and now I am convinced of it, for in these days of conflicting aeroplanes the lines written and published in 1883 speak of "the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue." What could have been more prophetic?

When Lord Tennyson was dying it was said that Alfred Austin wrote these touching lines:

And o'er the wire this baneful message came:  
"He is no better, and is much the same."

And he was to be Tennyson's successor!

When Lord Salisbury was asked why he had appointed him he cynically answered, "For the best possible reason, because he wanted it."

Tennyson dictated on his deathbed these, his last, lines :

When the dumb hour clothed in black  
 Brings the dreams about my bed,  
 Call me not so often back,  
 Silent voices of the dead,  
 Toward the lowland ways behind me  
 And the sunlight that is gone !  
 Call me rather, silent voices,  
 Forward to the starry track  
 Glimmering up the heights beyond me  
 And always on.

Silent Voices—

We heard of the Duke of Sutherland's scandalous will, by which he leaves to his second wife £9,000 a year and £1,000,000 securities, besides the furniture in all his houses.

There was again trouble all through this time about the Uganda Question, which was only scotched, not killed, at the September Cabinet. I had some talk with Miss Margot about it, as she had seen Arthur Balfour, who had told her that they had meant to build the railway, had they continued in office.

On October 25 I came to Downing Street, and prepared for Mr. Gladstone's arrival. Saw Carrington, and had luncheon at the Marlborough with him, and Henry Loch, who gave a wonderfully flourishing account of gold prospects in Mashonaland and Bechuanaland.

I then saw Francis Villiers, who was cheerful about the prospects of a settlement of the Uganda Question, making Zanzibar take it under his protection, and giving him a subsidy ; though how this plan differs from what the Cabinet was so dead against at the beginning of the month, I cannot see.

Saw Edward Marjoribanks, who told me all about the poor Duke of Roxburghe's death, and that no Liberal successor was possible for the Lord Lieutenancy.

OCTOBER 25.—Mr. Gladstone returned after his Oxford Lecture, an account of which Arthur Godley gives to me :

"It was a wonderful sight—the enthusiasm beyond anything I expected, and even the undergraduates, who, one would have thought, might be hostile, cheered at the top of their voices in the most frantic manner. The only

sign which they gave of their political opinions was that, when he mentioned the name of Lord Salisbury, they cheered vigorously for a minute or more.

"The building was absolutely chock full, so far as I could see."

Discussed with Mr. Gladstone Uganda, about which he was hopeful; then various appointments, Deputy Master of the Mint, etc. Talked about his Oxford Lecture and its success with the undergraduates, though he had been bothered by the arrangements as to light. Then to Harcourt, at his wish, who told me that he had arranged with Tate as to his picture gallery on the Embankment, and refused an absurd demand on the part of the War Office for 14 acres there. Talking over the appointment of the Master of the Mint at Sydney, he said Lord John Russell used to say that Scots and Irish were alike in one thing, that they all wanted appointments; but there was this difference—if a Scotsman wanted a place for himself and could not get it, he tried to get it for another Scotsman, but if an Irishman could not get what he wanted, all he cared for was that no other Irishman should get it.

OCTOBER 26.—Lord Ashburnham, after all the trouble Mr. Gladstone has had to convince Her Majesty that he is not in favour of a Stuart restoration, etc., refuses to be Lord-in-Waiting.

Got through Mr. Gladstone's letters and appointments of Church Commissioners, etc., with him very rapidly, and he said it was delightful doing his business like that.

Saw Edward Marjoribanks, who says Randolph Churchill prophesies two years for the Government, then a dissolution on the Lords throwing out the Home Rule Bill the second time.

Mr. Gladstone spoke about the Prince of Wales' position, which he agreed with me was a cruel one, as being heir to the Throne he should not be left in ignorance of all that was going on.

OCTOBER 27.—Mr. Gladstone's letters to-day were principally on questions raised in his Oxford Lecture from Lord Acton, Arthur Godley, John Morley, and the Bishop

of Bath and Wells. Bryce says that, saving the Israelites, the Icelanders are the only really ancient people. He discussed Mr. Gladstone's views on Homeric poetry, and praised W. Morris' poems, but he would refuse the Laureateship if offered to him.

Mr. Gladstone had used in a letter to Harcourt about Uganda the expression that he must remember the proposal made by "Nosey"—we were all puzzled to whom he referred. I asked Mr. Gladstone, saying I had supposed he meant Mundella; he said, "Oh no, it was an old nickname for the King of the Belgians, which he illustrated by a story of Lowe's, who had been bothered by a long deputation of which Mundella was the spokesman. A day or two after, he met a man on the Parade, who said he was glad to meet him, as he had seen so little of him of late. "Indeed," said Lowe, "I have heard a great deal too much of *you*." And this turned out to be the King of the Belgians, whom Lowe had taken for Mundella. W. Harcourt told me that Henry James at the time of the cattle plague used to call Mundella "Trichinosis," but he was really a good fellow.

OCTOBER 28.—I was caught by W. Harcourt on my way to Mr. Gladstone; he told me that the Cabinet had been mainly occupied in discussing the fees and practice of the Law Officers: that Mr. Gladstone would not face the question of what was to be in the Queen's Speech, and wisely, I thought, clung to the old idea that he was only to put into it the measures that he hoped to pass; but that apparently would not do, and great reforms must not be left to private M.P.s.

Mr. Gladstone I found engrossed in a long secret memo. to the Queen on the political situation, and the cleavage between the classes and masses, which was dangerous.

Heard of Prince of Wales having spoken to Francis Knollys last night on the question of his knowing what passed at Cabinets, on which the Prince wrote to me, saying:

PRIVATE

October 27, 1892.

MY DEAR WEST,—Many thanks for your Mem. received

to-day. I am surprised that Lord Ashburnham will not take the Lord-in-Waitingship, for the reasons given. I hope Lord Playfair will accept, as the Queen knows him so well.

The difficulty to find a successor for Lord Tennyson must be very great, so it is best that the Poet Laureateship should remain in abeyance for the present. I should have thought that the name of Swinburne might be duly considered.

Believe me, sincerely yours, ALBERT EDWARD.

On the 29th there was another long batch of letters on the Lecture at Oxford, and one from Rosebery against the publication of Lord Salisbury's dispatches on Uganda.

Bryce recommends Coventry Patmore for Laureateship.

John Morley came to me, annoyed at being brought over from Ireland to discuss directorships. The decision arrived at that no one in office should hold one is a self-denying ordinance, righteous, but pressing hard on some. Morley advised Fowler not to acquiesce in it.

Ireland was very quiet and peaceful. The only reason for parting with W. Ridgeway was that everybody from high to low thought John Morley would go out and West Ridgeway stay in, and they looked to him and not to J. Morley.

OCTOBER 31.—Correspondence between Harcourt and Rosebery as to Uganda and publication of Lord Salisbury's dispatches thereon.

Rosebery for—Harcourt against. John Morley in favour of Rosebery's views. Harcourt showed me a map saying that Rhodes would undertake the whole of the responsibility of administering Uganda for £25,000 a year, getting access to it by the Zambesi and the lakes to Lake Nyassa. The Mombasa Railway is an absurdity and very costly. Would also undertake Bechuanaland at a reduced cost.

Met H. D. Wolff, who told me Labouchere was very angry and would be mischievous. He said one element of strength for the Government was, that the Tories did not wish to come in.



## CHAPTER VI

1892

### DIFFICULTIES IN THE CABINET

NOVEMBER 1.—John Morley came to see me in one of his humours and told me that he had last night written a letter of four pages saying he would no longer attend a Cabinet in which Harcourt sat; his invariable insolence was too dreadful; at the last Cabinet they had gone backwards, not forwards; they had settled to introduce in the Queen's Speech—Home Rule, Scottish and Welsh Disestablishment, Registration, etc., Village Councils—but they would be out on Uganda. I said that that would imperil Ireland. He said, "No, as Irish Home Rule passing is impossible. The Lords would not pass it, and he would definitely say 'Good-bye' to the Cabinet rather than occupy or remain in Uganda."

Although he had actually written the letter he spoke of, he slept over it and decided not to send it after all. He had, however, made up his mind to tell me that he would not stay when he got my note saying Mr. Gladstone wished to see him. He had had a long talk with Mr. Gladstone, and did not propose to take any further steps.

There had been a suggestion of a committee—Lord Spencer, Herschell, and Bryce—to prepare a Bill omitting him and the Irish Members, which he could not stand.

W. Harcourt came in and was most agreeable. Settled to discontinue the office of Judge Advocate, etc. Dined at Mr. Gladstone's—Spencers; J. Morley, looking ill, who said: "If I had not had my interview of to-day, I should not have been here to-night"; Mundella; S. Rendel, who told me of Hannen's proposal to retire for C. Bowen, and asked me to the Riviera; Acton thought Mr. Gladstone's dwelling so long on things was a sign of old age.

The Prince of Wales writes, with a suggestion or two as to certain posts :

## PRIVATE

WYNYARD PARK, STOCKTON-ON-TEES, November 2, 1892.

MY DEAR WEST,—I am glad to learn from your Memo. received to-day that Lord Playfair accepts the post of Lord-in-Waiting. As you are still one short, has the name of Lord Reay ever occurred to Mr. Gladstone? After the late Lord Harris had been Governor of Madras, he was Lord-in-Waiting for the Queen, and afterwards Chamberlain for the Princess of Wales. Lord Reay, having been Governor of Bombay, would come under the same category, and would, I presume, be a *persona grata* for the Queen.

Believe me, sincerely yours, ALBERT EDWARD.

NOVEMBER 3.—A curious slackness in business. Reay accepts Lord Lieutenancy of Roxburghshire, and Playfair a Lordship-in-Waiting.

Read Mwanga, King of Uganda's, letter to Her Majesty to Mr. Gladstone. Uganda matters do not seem to get forwarder.

Saw Eddie Hamilton, who told me that Mr. Gladstone had proposed to Spencer and J. Morley to postpone the consideration of Home Rule Bill till January. This they refused, with the result that they are commissioned to draw up heads, and that J. Morley says the Cabinet must meet again in December, so that the Bill may be practically settled by Christmas.

Lord Acton dined with us, and with reference to a note of Mr. Gladstone's Lecture, said it was a solecism to put "de" before a Frenchman's name without a title prefixed;<sup>1</sup> thus it would be wrong to say "de Tocqueville," but M. de Tocqueville would be right.

To see Oscar Wilde's play, *Lady Windermere's Fan*. Excellent, and the conversation smart: "His experience means his mistake," etc.

<sup>1</sup> If Lord Acton is rightly quoted he was wrong, as a brief reference to (e.g.) the *Biographie Universelle* would show. He may have been saying that this was the rule of *von* in German.

To Chancellor of Exchequer's party, where Sir William Harcourt showed us the new coinage, which had just been struck.

A Cabinet was fixed for November 4.

John Morley came before it to see Mr. Gladstone, and Rosebery came to me, much annoyed at Waddington talking to Mr. Gladstone about the evacuation of Egypt and not to him. He believed it must have been by the orders of his Government, and he had written to complain of it to Ribot through Dufferin.

Arnold Morley came in after the Cabinet, and we discussed the question of Post Office discipline and meetings, etc., which were becoming a difficulty.

They had talked about Uganda all the time at the Cabinet, and were not evidently of one mind.

Edward Marjoribanks said Herschell was very gloomy, and John Morley was of opinion that Mr. Gladstone was riding for a fall over Uganda, and did not care to bother himself over Home Rule. But John Morley said he would undertake it, and had already told Jenkyns to draft a Bill. How little Morley knew his man, or for the matter of that, himself and his own power!

Subsequently Mr. Gladstone expatiated on the troubles of yesterday's Cabinet and quoted the case of Mr. Motley in 1871, who had written a long letter direct to him. He proposed writing to Lord Rosebery telling him this, but I got him not to do this, though it showed a precedent for personal intercourse. Evidently Rosebery and he had been sparring all through the Cabinet. I am sure half the bother might be settled by greater freedom of personal intercourse, as he was always regretting Lord Granville. In this Arthur Godley agreed with me.

I told him my ideas about more frequent intercourse, which he admitted, but said Fowler had already protested against a ring in the Cabinet; but if I could persuade Rosebery to come and see Mr. Gladstone it would be well.

(The Prince of Wales, as has been seen already, was dissatisfied with the meagre information given him about the business done and discussed in the Cabinet. The following correspondence has reference to this:)

BALMORAL, *November 2, 1892.*

MY DEAR KNOLLYS,—The Queen approves of Mr. Gladstone following the same course as before in sending to the Prince of Wales the decisions of the Cabinet on important points.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

SANDRINGHAM, NORFOLK, *November 8, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have shown your letter of yesterday to the Prince of Wales, who desires me to ask you to thank Mr. Gladstone from him for being so good as to authorize you to send to H.R.H. the doings of the Cabinet.

The Prince thinks the best way of forwarding them will be in a box and in the shape of a Memo. He will always return to you when sending back the boxes.

As he moves about a great deal he thinks it will be advisable to send the boxes to Marlborough House, from whence they will be immediately forwarded to him.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

BALMORAL, *November 13, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Whisper. Although H.M. approves of the Prince of Wales being informed of the principal decisions of the Cabinet, she does not think that Mr. Gladstone's report should be repeated to H.R.H., as that is a confidential report from the Prime Minister to her alone. I said I presumed you picked out the plums and sent them to H.R.H., but I think she wished to know exactly what sort of report you sent.

Yours very sincerely, HENRY PONSONBY.

We leave here on Thursday for Windsor.

I insert the following as specimens of the memoranda I sent after each Cabinet to the Prince of Wales :

## SECRET

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *Sunday.*

The Cabinet met to-day, and arrived at the conclusion that the Land question in Wales demanded inquiry ; but

it was not settled whether it should be by means of a Commission or a Committee.

Mr. Fowler desired administratively to lower the present inconveniently high qualification of Poor Law Guardians, which was agreed to ; and it was deemed desirable eventually to remove all pecuniary limits to the choice of the ratepayers.

The Cabinet settled that certain Bills should be prepared for presentation to Parliament. The Ministers then convened on the heads of a Bill for the Government of Ireland, and instructed the draftsman to draw a Bill provisionally for the consideration of the Government.

ALGERNON WEST.

*November 11, 1892.*

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL.

The Cabinet to-day had to consider two telegrams from Lord Cromer signifying that the Khedive of Egypt was about to dismiss his Prime Minister and to replace him with an incompetent man.

The Cabinet thought that this should not be sanctioned, referring to a dispatch of 1884 which claimed a control over the internal government of Egypt during our military occupation.

The Cabinet desired a telegram to be sent dissenting from the measure, which they refused to agree to, and another asking for further explanations from Lord Cromer.

The Cabinet then continued their consideration of the Irish Government Bill, and settled the terms for limiting the voting power of Irish Members returned in Westminster by their exclusion from British matters.

They also considered the conditions on which the Irish legislature should be authorized to alter the arrangements as to the composition of the two Houses ; and they touched on the question of Irish finance, which they will consider further on Wednesday.

ALGERNON WEST.

*January 16, 1893.*

I had luncheon and a talk with Lord Spencer at the Admiralty, and then saw F. Villiers at the Foreign Office

on the subject of greater familiar intercourse with Mr. Gladstone.

Francis Villiers said Rosebery was very much changed, that his heart was not in Foreign Office work; that he was irritated by Waddington and his explanation, and had written asking whether Ribot had authorized Waddington's approaching Mr. Gladstone; that Ribot had telegraphed to Waddington, who had lamely explained that he had called on Mr. Gladstone to talk about Tennyson, and that the conversation had wandered on to Egypt. Lord Rosebery explained it was very difficult, now Mr. Gladstone was deaf, to get him to understand him, and he preferred correspondence, which is just what I don't.

At the Cabinet it was settled that Rosebery was to answer Waddington civilly about claims of France in Uganda and Egypt, and that a Commissioner was to be sent to Uganda.

NOVEMBER 6.—Shand kept these notes of a dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone; Lady Fred. Cavendish, Mr. Armitstead, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone there.

Mr. Gladstone said that he always liked to read a great deal on Sunday, because he found such rest and repose by doing so. He had been reading a translation of the Communion Service of the Greek Church, which had been sent to him by the chaplain to the Russian Embassy, and he thought the prayers were as beautiful as any he had ever read.

He had also been reading about the "Stundists," a sect of the Greek Church, who disapproved of all ritual and priests, but believed in leading good and upright lives. They had recently suffered persecution. Talking of the Russian clergy, Mr. Gladstone said that a well-known Pole, Count Strzelecki (a refugee, and Mr. Gladstone said the first, he believed, who was of opinion that gold was to be found in Australia), had once seen a Russian colonel in the presence of his regiment admonish a priest for getting drunk. He spoke of him as a "black-guard," and used many other similar terms, eventually reminding him that he had said on a previous occasion he would have him whipped if ever he got drunk again.

He told him to take off his vestments and strip. This was done, and soldiers administered the whipping; after this, the priest dressed himself, replaced his vestments, and conducted the service for the regiment, which received his blessing.

Mr. Gladstone then remembered that, exactly sixty years ago, he was in the thick of one of the hottest of election fights, at Newark. In those days there were house-to-house visitations by the candidates. There were two thousand houses in Newark, and he took three days to do them. At each house almost, he was offered either wine or beer, and it was very difficult to refuse. He used to start off at 8 a.m. accompanied by his supporters and a band! He would then commence his visits, which would go on uninterruptedly till 7 p.m., when he came home to dinner. Dinner was a public function, and speeches had to be made, and when dinner was over he had to go to other places, where there was more drink and more speeches. It was the custom to go into every house, whether the resident had a vote or not. If the resident had not a vote, you simply asked for his "influence." One pauper, when asked for her influence by Mr. Gladstone, said she was afraid it was very "shallow."

"I defy you to find a more expressive word!" said Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Armitstead having referred to a branch of Mr. Gladstone's family having settled in Dundee, Mr. Gladstone said that through Sir William Fraser, the Scottish Registrar-General, he had learnt something of them. They seem to have been people of some note or position before the time of the Commonwealth, but after that they came down in the world, and many of them had been small shopkeepers. Mr. Armitstead said he thought the present representative of the family was on the Town Council at Dundee. Mr. Gladstone said that there was another branch of the family, which settled at Yarmouth. The name, he said, was originally "Gledstane." Gladstones were also found to this day in Scandinavia. "I have a theory of my own," said Mr. Gladstone, "as to how this came about. There must have been Gladstones

on the border originally, who lived like all border people in a perpetual state of warfare, so much so that it became second nature to them. When England and Scotland were united, peace prevailed on the border, and the Gladstones (with others no doubt) went to Scandinavia and joined the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, so as to get some fighting, eventually settling in that part of the world."

Talking of the degraded position held by clergymen at one time in England (dining with the servants or sitting below the salt by themselves, the family often sitting on a raised dais), Mr. Gladstone said that it must be remembered that at that time ladies' maids were the poor relations of their mistresses.

NOVEMBER 8.—Sir W. Harcourt had written a draft to the East Africa Company for Mr. Gladstone's and Rosebery's approval. I wish he would not take the initiative on Foreign Affairs so much, as it annoys Lord Rosebery.

NOVEMBER 9.—We heard the news of the Duke of Marlborough being found dead in his bed at Blenheim.

NOVEMBER 10.—Lord Spencer and John Morley both came to talk to Mr. Gladstone, as I had suggested, which was useful.

NOVEMBER 11.—Read to Mr. Gladstone Lord Kimberley's speech at the Mansion House. W. Harcourt came in, and we discussed Lord Salisbury's meaning as to the occupation of Uganda, which, of course, he never intended to abandon; though it is clear he had made no provision for the time between the abandonment and the completion of the railway, to which he was committed.

After the Cabinet, Arnold Morley came in, saying it had been heated and very Harcourty—Kimberley not being very pleasant, and Mundella whispering, "How many Unionists are there here?"

John Morley then came saying that the Cabinet had been "very rough, very rough," and that there were to be no more till December! Unhappy about his Evicted Tenants' Commission. Mathew was an Irishman very clever and honest, but had no tact.

All the heads of the Irish Land Bill which had been



discussed were drawn up to be given to Jenkyns, the draftsman, who would draw up the several alternative proposals; so progress is made, anyhow, in the right direction.

Loulou came in with his father's account of the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone had positively declined to allow any discussion of the points of dispute in the Home Rule Bill. They were two hours discussing whether there should be any discussion; and then Mr. Gladstone adjourned Cabinets till December.

Nothing was said of Uganda, and Rosebery was angry at Mr. Gladstone's addition to Harcourt's letter to the Company, and had said: "Well, if it is all settled against me by the Triumvirate, W. Harcourt, John Morley, and Mr. Gladstone, let me go at once."

*From Hon. E. Marjoribanks*

PRIVATE

134 PICCADILLY, November 13, 1892.

MY DEAR ALGY,—I am just back from Brighton and hope that things are all on the right track.

Fortunately there came a telegram from John Morley, after I had had my talk with him, very opportunely saying that Jenkyns thought he would have his draft ready by the end of the week. Mr. Gladstone wired back whether he meant at the end of this week or the end of the first week in December. It might be well to wire J. Morley to make sure of having the draft over here by the end of this week. Then Mr. Gladstone is quite prepared to have fresh Cabinets to commence at the beginning of next week, 21st.

Do what you can to help this and bring it about.

He won't have it at all that there was any idea in his mind of putting them off with a single Cabinet in December, but that he was quite prepared to have as many as might be necessary to discuss the Home Rule Bill when drafted.

I wish you would run across to Ripon and tell him that I quoted his name to Mr. Gladstone as one of those

desirous for further meetings and efficient discussions, on the strength of what you told me of his conversation with you. I fancy Mr. Gladstone understood I had seen him myself and he must not be taken aback if I am referred to by Mr. Gladstone as quoting him. Please see this made clear to Ripon.

I have written a discreet letter to Harcourt giving him probabilities without committing myself or anyone else ; so you need say nothing about my having written this to you.

Mr. Gladstone is working hard at Home Rule himself now.

Yours always, E. M.

CONFIDENTIAL

COLONIAL OFFICE, *November 12, 1892.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—The *Daily News* announces this morning that there is to be a Cabinet next week. Is this true ? I hope it may be, as the feeling in the Cabinet in favour of an early meeting is very strong. I took no part in the discussion yesterday, because while I agreed with Mr. Gladstone in regard to the advantage of having a Bill before us when we discuss details, I could not deny that there was much force in the arguments adduced in favour of the earliest practicable consideration of most of the main features of the Home Rule Bill, however open to criticism was the form in which those arguments were put. I cannot but believe that a single Cabinet next week would give much satisfaction.

Yours ever, RIPPON.

(Lord Ripon, on Sir Algernon's advice, called personally on Mr. Gladstone, with the fortunate result shown below : )

COLONIAL OFFICE, *November 16, 1892.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I am very glad I took your advice. I had a delightful interview with Mr. Gladstone. He was most kind, and after we had discussed the Bechuanaland business we had a very interesting talk about the Irish Bill.

Yours ever, RIPPON.

NOVEMBER 13.—Saw Arnold Morley in the morning and got him to say that he would back up Edward Marjoribanks' suggestion that Cabinets should be resumed.

NOVEMBER 14.—Our plans succeeded, and Mr. Gladstone has settled to stay in town and have Cabinets on the Irish Measure. Saw Ripon and Asquith, who were both delighted. John Morley quite ready to come over. Rosebery asked me to see him, and told me that Mr. Gladstone was behaving badly to him on Uganda, and would not answer him as to Rhodes. Rosebery described Friday's Cabinet. I spoke out, and while admitting that I did not like the tone that their correspondence had got into, thought much might be done by more personal conversation and less letter-writing. He said that if I could get Uganda out of the way, he would gladly do as I had suggested; but on Uganda Mr. Gladstone was always violent and unreasonable, and snubbed him at the Cabinets. He came over with me to see Harcourt. Mr. Gladstone came at 6 o'clock, and we had a little talk.

NOVEMBER 15.—Took Rosebery's letter to the Company to Mr. Gladstone, who began criticizing it, and then said he would talk to Harcourt, so I ran across to Spencer to get him to come first, which he did, to pour oil on the troubled waters.

Francis Villiers told me that Rosebery was still unhappy and distrait. I told Mr. Gladstone that he had Uganda on his mind. He said he had sent Harcourt across to settle it with Rosebery. How hopeless! But I heard from F. Villiers that things were going fairly well, Loulou Harcourt saying everything was most satisfactory.

NOVEMBER 16.—Ripon in a great state at Harcourt's dictation about Bechuanaland. I smoothed him down; made him tear up a letter he had written and go and have a few minutes talk with Mr. Gladstone, which was most successful.

NOVEMBER 17.—Spencer very happy with his interview on Home Rule Bill with Harcourt.

NOVEMBER 18.—Saw Harcourt, who said it really was necessary that some man of common sense should be on the Home Rule Committee. I said: "Who is it to con-

sist of?” He said: “Mr. Gladstone, John Morley, Spencer, and Bryce. C. Bannerman, a hard-headed Scotsman, should be on it.”

Showed me Rosebery’s letter about Uganda, accepting emendations of the letter to the Company; so I do hope this accursed thing may now be settled.

NOVEMBER 19.—Mr. Gladstone engaged on Home Rule Bill and Retention of Members. J. Morley arrived and with Spencer had a long talk; then Jenkyns came.

It was settled that there was to be a Committee of the Cabinet to discuss the Home Rule Bill. Told Spencer of Harcourt’s wish for Bannerman, to which he had no objection.

Mr. Gladstone much pleased with Jenkyns—the Treasury draftsman—as was natural, for he is an admirable man.

NOVEMBER 20.—I heard from Fowler that he had already asked Lingen to take the chair of the Old Age Pension Committee.

I dined at Mrs. Gaskell’s; met Lord Waterford and discussed Ireland. He said he did not know John Morley; he would have served on Evicted Tenants’ Commission, if asked.

After much talk I told him that I could not understand why, instead of resisting what must come from one party or another, he did not use his influence in modifying any Bill that came to the House of Lords. He would not admit my premises. He hoped the Lords would not be reformed, as it would make them stronger, which was undesirable. He liked a Liberal Government better than a Tory Government, because the Tories retarded Radical measures, and stole the Liberal clothes when in office, which did not fit. He hated the English Local Government Bill, but thought one would come for Ireland.

NOVEMBER 21.—W. Harcourt came into my room very anxious that a meeting should be arranged between Labouchere and Mr. Gladstone; Labby said it was all he wanted.

Told me of a letter from Portal, which came later from Rosebery, suggesting throwing over the Company and undertaking the settlement of Uganda from Zanzibar for

half the price of the Company (i.e. buying up the Company at half its face value); and W. Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone, to whom I read it, both liked the idea! If it had been made in October, they would both have gone out of their senses with rage. What a healer Time is! and Rosebery will get his way.

Cabinet settled meeting of Parliament, allocation of Bills to various Members, and Committee for Home Rule Bill—an enormous programme!

The Cabinet met in the Picture Room in Downing Street for the first time and liked it. Rosebery and Harcourt sat on a sofa, taking no part in the Irish Bill discussion. Spencer went to sit between them; but they said in chaff: "Oh no, this is the English Bench."

NOVEMBER 22.—To Bushey. Sat for two hours with Herkomer, who was to paint the portrait presented to me by the Inland Revenue Service on my resigning the Chairmanship of the Board. He photographed me a few times and then talked of theatres and their proper shape. Showed me a curious sketch of an actor as he appeared from the stalls and from the boxes. Of his new house built with stone from Munich, in which he employed his two uncles, one a weaver, one a carver. Then about his pictures—Miss Grant's being in the room. He was in search of an intellectual blonde, which was difficult to find. Of Watts, he said his picture of Walter Crane was the finest picture ever painted in ancient or modern times; of Millais and his variableness; put me in various poses, but never attempted to paint me, and I came away and to Downing Street, where I found the Committee had been sitting on Home Rule Bill and made some progress. Did not like the proposal for the Senate.

Took Harcourt up to Mr. Gladstone to tell him about Labouchere.

NOVEMBER 23.—I discussed the constitution of the Poor Law Committee with Mr. Gladstone, and persuaded him to take Stansfeld as chairman. I suggested to Lord Spencer and C. Bannerman how unwise it was to fix September 1 for the meeting of the new Irish Parliament.

There was a Cabinet, at which Sir William Harcourt

urged more Cabinets in December, saying he was not alone in his opinion. Nobody spoke and he turned to Fowler, and asked him why, if he was not in favour of more Cabinets, he came to Sir William's rooms yesterday and suggested his urging it? Mr. Gladstone told me this, and said that from now till January the Committee had to work, and then conferences were to take place with the Irish M.P.s, which gave not too much time.

I walked with him to Labouchere's door, where he went to have tea, at Sir William Harcourt's suggestion—he had proposed it, saying: “Here is a love-letter to Mrs. Labby!”

Sir William Harcourt came into my room after the Cabinet, and was very amusing with his sneer at John Morley, and said Uganda was settled, but that not a word was said about the small question of Ireland, which would be mentioned a few days probably before the House met.

Mr. Gladstone said he thinks that Sir William Harcourt really hates Home Rule, as a Britisher who hates those whom he has ill-used.

NOVEMBER 24.—I went down to Herkomer's, at Bushey, who made great progress with my picture. He said North was the greatest of water-colour painters, and he had learnt much from Walker.

I had a long talk with Welby on Irish finance, where we think Mr. Gladstone is going astray. Told Acton that Welby and John Morley were at twos and threes and asked him to arrange their differences.

NOVEMBER 25.—I met Albert Grey, who had met Mr. Gladstone at dinner at H. Farquhar's. Mr. Gladstone was in wonderful force, and Randolph Churchill had said to Albert Grey after dinner: “And that is the man you left—how could you do it?” I told Mr. Gladstone.

Saw John Morley, Herschell, and Jenkyns on Irish finances, and hope I am doing some good in the way of simplification.

Told Mr. Gladstone Sir William Harcourt was going to undertake a radical reform of the death duties, even beyond my suggestion, which Mr. Gladstone thought the *ne plus ultra*. Wondered if there would be time, and told

me to congratulate Sir William Harcourt on his advance to Liberalism.

Went across to Rosebery, who told me Mrs. Labby had been in to him about Washington.

I said he must redeem his promise of seeing Mr. Gladstone, now Uganda was over, to which he willingly assented. He came across with me at once. A good stroke of business.

Then to Sir William Harcourt, who had had pages from Labby, pressing for Washington, and a further letter saying, "don't answer this at present."

At 4 to a meeting with Sir William Harcourt, Rigby, Solicitor-General, Welby, and Milner, now Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, to discuss Death Duties. Not very much progress made. But the thing is started and may go.

Talked to Mrs. Astor and Lady Spencer, whom I told of Lord Rosebery's telegraphing to the Queen that poet laureates would be a good topic of conversation with Mr. Gladstone.

NOVEMBER 26.—To Herkomer, who wants to paint Mr. Gladstone. Met Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone at Euston on my return. Mr. Gladstone said his visit to Windsor had been sterile.

At 5 o'clock to Aston Clinton,<sup>1</sup> with Spencer Lyttelton, Lady Sophia Macnamara, William Peel, Miss Cohen. Very pleasant; much talk on poets and books.

NOVEMBER 27.—Drove to Halton and through the woods in a bright sun. In afternoon walked and saw Alfred Rothschild's house. An exaggerated nightmare of gorgeousness and senseless and ill-applied magnificence; but lovely pictures.

Spencer told me West Ridgeway declined the Uganda Commission.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Battersea's. Lady Battersea was a daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild.

## CHAPTER VII

1892

### DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES

DECEMBER 1.—G. Portal was appointed Commissioner for Uganda, Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt approving!!!

Had luncheon with Mrs. Sands, where I met Mr. Cross, the husband of George Eliot, Bryce, Mrs. Astor—a charming woman.

Lady F. Marjoribanks came to tea; said Randolph Churchill was very anxious to see me and Sir William Harcourt, so we had him down to tea.

At luncheon Mrs. Sands asked Bryce if it was true that as was stated in the papers, Mr. Gladstone had had tea with Mrs. Labouchere. He denied it. Now, I had been told that Mr. Gladstone had announced his intention to do so at the Cabinet. Bryce said he had never heard it. Oh! how difficult it is to write history!

DECEMBER 2.—Down to Herkomer's, who finished my face and showed me his workshop.

I dined with Haldane, Justice Romer, C. Bowen, H. James, H. Cust, Herbert Paul. Talked of journalism, and H. Cust's difficulties. He admitted his *Pall Mall Gazette* was gloomy, dull, stupid. He meant to try to be impartial.

Talked of Poet Laureate, and in that connexion of Watson, who was eccentric; of R. Bridges, whom C. Bowen admired. Then of French literature: Zola, Bourget, etc.

C. Bowen thought Political Economy was dead.

Looked forward to a National Federation of Labour within the next twenty years.

The *Charing Cross Gazette* talked of as title for new paper.



Counsel said of some doubtful speculator : " He'll never set the Thames on fire." " That depends whether he has insured it," said the Judge.

Bowen said there never was a more honest, straight judge than Mathew, who had been ungently abused, though he was only too impetuous.

Talked of Douse and his wit, etc., of R. Reid and Judge Advocate.

DECEMBER 3.—Saw Sir William Harcourt, who was " sarcastic, your honour," and said, of course, Mr. Gladstone never meant anybody to see the Home Rule Bill, and that he knew now it was hopeless, and would utterly destroy the Liberal Party, etc.

Saw Lady Fanny Marjoribanks, who, with her son, dined and went with me to the *Prodigal's Daughter* at Drury Lane.

DECEMBER 4.—I told Haldane I had spoken to Sir William Harcourt about Reid as Judge Advocate. He said the people in London judged well of men: they distrusted Harcourt, belittled Fowler, liked Rosebery.

(Mr. Gladstone was thinking of going abroad for his health's sake, and the following letter from E. Marjoribanks has reference to the project :)

FLOORS CASTLE, KELSO, December 4, 1892.

MY DEAR ALGY,—I am very sorry to hear that the foreign trip is again to the fore. Of course, if it is a matter of necessity from a health point of view there's not a word to be said ; otherwise it's a pity. I, of course, would make it convenient to go to Hawarden any day. I agree if he does go that a Cabinet or two should be taken on the road in London, say at the end of week after next or beginning of following one.

Can you tell me what has happened in the Labouchere-Washington proposal? The more I think of it the more I feel that from a party-opportunist point of view, i.e. from my special one, it would be a grand thing to get Labby out of the way next Session. There is no one else who can really intrigue with any show of success on our side. If anything of the sort were seriously contemplated

I could get him to go on foreign travel and be out of the way till the appointment was made. Do you know Rosebery's views? I am thinking of writing to him to urge this as worthy of serious consideration. Let me know all you can.

Such bitter hard frost here. Three inches of ice on the ponds. I shall be curling to-morrow. Shall be back at Ninewells Tuesday morning. Now that Buchanan has opposition I may go north to E. Aberdeen for a couple of days if much pressed to do so.

Yours always, E. M.

DECEMBER 5.—Rosebery wrote a manly letter to Labouchere, saying he had so abused him in *Truth* that it would neither be possible for him to offer nor for Labouchere to accept any office from him.

I talked to Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General, about Blackwood's<sup>1</sup> ill-advised Protestant meetings when secretary to the Post Office, which, I said, were well meant but most improper. Dined with him at Savoy. Mr. and Madame von André and Lady Fanny Marjoribanks, and Miss Yznaga.

(The following letter written by E. Marjoribanks from Floors, the Duke of Roxburgh's, gives further testimony to "Labby's" ability and will to be troublesome:)

### SECRET

NINEWELLS, CHIRNSIDE, *December 7, 1892.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Many thanks for your two notes.

I am sorry for what you say about Rosebery and Labouchere. I am going to risk writing him a short memo. of my views as to the advantages of getting him aloft, abroad, or below, but out of the House of C. for next Session. I'm sure he forbodes danger and means mischief, and his little tail and the Parnellites could do the trick any day.

Yours ever, E. M.

<sup>1</sup> Stephenson Blackwood. His meetings were of a religious character, for he was a fervently religious man; but in his official position they were regarded as imprudent.

DECEMBER 7.—At Sir William Harcourt's—discussion on Death Duties.

Milner's plan is to put a probate duty on realty, and to leave Legacy and Succession Duties alone, only graduating them. How he is to do this and retain the scheme of varying duties on consanguinity, I do not yet see.

Saw Rosebery, who told me how seriously he had spoken to Herbert Gladstone, and how serious he thought this foreign trip of his father's was.

Jenkyns told me that some members of the Cabinet were getting rusty about not seeing the Home Rule Bill, particularly Fowler. That it ought to be circulated, but that there were the leaky members—Mundella and G. S. Lefevre. Saw Spencer, who wanted to consult me on a question of recalling the Admiral on the Channel Station for the *Howe* incident<sup>1</sup>—ought he to consult the Cabinet, or Mr. Gladstone, or Her Majesty? I said, certainly not; he should take the sole responsibility himself, and then say he had done so. Then he asked for advice, as to whether the Admiral should be called on to defend himself? I said, certainly, though it was opposed to Admiralty advice.

John Morley's account of interview with the two Home Rulers, Sexton and Dillon, etc., on the Home Rule Bill very interesting. Their objections to the sentences about retaining supremacy of Imperial Parliament must be overruled, but their objections to Senate and Finance I thought reasonable.

Rosebery asked me if I could explain Mr. Gladstone's idea that he had accepted the Leadership in the Lords, which was not so. He found the work at the Foreign Office too great to enable him to do more than Foreign Affairs, and an occasional speech. He had spoken to Kimberley to this effect.

DECEMBER 9.—Mr. Gladstone invited to Windsor, so I telegraphed to Ponsonby, asking if he knew he was at Hawarden? He answered that he need not obey the summons if he was not coming to town, but that the Queen was shortly going to Osborne for two months.

<sup>1</sup> The *Howe* came into collision in the Channel.

I saw Rosebery, who asked me to let Mr. Gladstone know he could not be Leader in the House of Lords. Then talked over Mr. Gladstone's plan, and asked me to write to John Morley at Hawarden. He said he wanted an honour for Lugard, and asked how he was viewed by Mr. Gladstone. I said I could not say—if I had mentioned Portal in October, it was a signal for an outburst, and yet, he said, his mind had been in favour of his going in December, but I would find out if he could not have a military C.B.

The Labouchere incident is effectually closed by Lord Rosebery's letter, though Mrs. Labouchere still wrote, ending her letter, "Washington, Washington, Washington."

How can he have played his cards so ill ?

#### PRIVATE

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *December 9, 1892.*

MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I find from a conversation with Rosebery that he considers that you are labouring under a misapprehension as to his objections to leading the House of Lords having been removed.

He says that the more he sees of the work of the Foreign Office, the more impossible he thinks it will be for him to get through it in the day, before the House of Lords meets, and if work is thrown on him at night he will be unable to sleep. He has not written to you himself, as he wished to spare you any trouble on his account, but he has spoken of it to his colleagues in the House of Lords.

Of course he will be prepared to make a speech on all important measures of the Government.

I am, yours very truly, ALGERNON WEST.

(Note on back of letter: Will see Rosebery on this subject; he certainly accepted.)

*From Rt. Hon. John Morley*

HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, *December 10, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Your letter was most useful to me—and though I mentioned no name, I conveyed the points.

He is obstinately averse to Cabinets this week.

But the Bill is to be finally out of the hands of Cabinet Committee by Friday, and to be circulated to the Cabinet by, say, Tuesday 20th. A Memo. will be circulated to Cabinet on Monday, informing them of all this. That will give some ease to anxious minds, I hope.

Biarritz<sup>1</sup> seems to have dropped this evening; they saw that I could not say much good of it.

How I should like a good talk with you! Perhaps at the end of this week. I am going back to-morrow until Thursday.

How are you?

Yours, J. MORLEY.

DECEMBER 12.—To Lord Rosebery again, who showed me his letter to Mr. Gladstone, which he said was meant to be a mixture of affection and his true views, if read between the lines. If I did not like it he would burn it—but I thought it admirable. He said he had already twice fully explained his views to Mrs. Drew, who, of course, had not shown them to Mr. Gladstone.

Dined with Welby, and to *Lear*. Irving dreadful, E. Terry charming.

DECEMBER 13.—My wife was delighted with my picture by Herkomer, whom we visited, as he is at Bushey in his castle made of the stone brought from Munich.

DECEMBER 15.—A quiet day.

To City. Saw A. Morley, who was loud in his denunciation of Judge Pollock's conduct as an Election Judge.

Met Asquith, who was looking very ill and worn.

He said Sir William Harcourt was like a spoiled child and was terrible. He thought there had been some soreness about the Home Rule Bill not being shown, but hoped that was wearing off. There would be no unpleasantness at Saturday's Cabinet if Sir William Harcourt would be quiet.

To London Reform Union. An excellent speech from Rosebery, who was well received. Asquith very popular. Haldane called Rosebery "Citizen Rosebery." A good

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the idea of going to Biarritz.

speech from Tom Mann, who appeared to have all the qualities of an eloquent demagogue.

DECEMBER 16.—Sir Andrew Clark, who had just returned from Hawarden, came to see me. He said that he had found Mr. Gladstone depressed and worried, that he had not slept well lately, and had tested that by his hearing the clock strike. His hearing was more defective and his eyesight worse; that a local doctor had indiscreetly said that he had a cataract coming in his left eye—his good one. But Clark said it might take twenty years to develop. He was in favour of his trying—for after all it was only a try—a change for a fortnight, though, of course, there was some risk; there was nothing the matter with him if he were seventy, but as he was eighty everything was serious, and though his intellectual power was as good as ever it was an old house crumbling.

I spoke to him about his having a private secretary with him. Sir Andrew said: "You must insist upon it. He relies on your devotion and judgment." I said I had enormous difficulty when he was away, though I might have some power when I was with him. He said if he could pass the Irish Measure he would resign, etc. Mrs. Gladstone, I found, had not mentioned my letter to her about Mr. Gladstone having a secretary with him.

Mr. Gladstone arrived, and after his journey had four hours work with his Committee on the Home Rule Bill.

I saw Sir William Harcourt at luncheon, who was in a very good humour; he told me that George III never lived at Windsor Castle, but at a little house near the present stables.

Mr. Gladstone tired, and complaining that his eyes were failing, and that it was uphill work, but politic to stick to it.

I saw Armitstead, who promised to broach the question of private secretary with Mr. Gladstone. Had a talk to Spencer and told him what Sir A. Clark had told me, and that John Morley had said he had never gone through such a time as he had at Hawarden last Saturday. Mr. Gladstone was almost out of his mind about Uganda instructions—Zanzibar being omitted, in which Mr. Glad-

stone was wrong and Lord Rosebery right. He was really like King Lear—I hope not Irving's impersonation of him.

A talk to C. Bannerman about Reid, Q.C., for Judge Advocate, of which he did not approve. Kimberley and he and Spencer begged that I would prevent a Cabinet on Monday.

DECEMBER 17.—Breakfasted with Armitstead, who said Helen and Harry Gladstone had prevented his speaking to Mr. Gladstone about Shand,<sup>1</sup> and so I went to Downing Street, where I met Harry, who said: "Don't mention the question to my father to-day." I fear I was rather sharp and said my responsibility was great, and I could not be dictated to by *all* the family.

Up to Mr. Gladstone, and found him, as he always is to me personally, amenable to my arguments, but on the subject of a private secretary he was very stiff. I said I hoped to unstiffen him, and proceeded to my arguments, which he admitted convinced him—and he thought Shand a good choice. I then persuaded him to have no Cabinet on Monday, and proposed a Committee of Cabinet for the Wage Question, which would prevent discussion, to which he agreed; so I hoped for a peaceful Cabinet—which it proved to be.

Dined at Armitstead's—Mr. Gladstone, Miss Helen, Harry, and Acton.

Talked about Arion, who Mr. Gladstone said was the Patti of the Classics, for he went about singing, and getting large pay, which was the object of envy to brigands, when he jumped into the sea and was rescued by a dolphin.

Mr. Gladstone said he must trust to me to see that Shand was put to no expense.

Loulou came in to tea, and said his father had been saying: "Thank God, my old friend Algy West is in Downing Street, for I can go and curse and blow off steam in his room."

Sir S. Northcote was the originator of the G.O.M. (Grand Old Man), and Sir W. Harcourt emphasized it.

After dinner, went with Acton to see John Morley at

<sup>1</sup> i.e. as private secretary.

the Métropole, but found him in bed. Had a long talk. Acton said John Morley was very low and unhappy, and said there never was a Government as insincere; they none of them cared for Home Rule but he, Asquith, and Mr. Gladstone.

Told Acton of my theory of Mr. Gladstone at his age requiring intellectual amusement, which he did not get, except from his books at Hawarden.

DECEMBER 18.—Met Carrington, who had heard from the Prince of Wales proposing to dine with him, and we settled that the only way was to catch Mr. Gladstone coming out of Chapel Royal, which we did, and succeeded.

I told Carrington it would be a mistake my going, but he\* was obstinate—and in the result he was right, for Mr. Gladstone was very glad. After luncheon in Downing Street had a long talk with John Morley at the Athenæum. He asked what magic I had used to keep Sir W. Harcourt quiet at the Cabinet. I said that *au fond* he was most kind-hearted, and I had appealed to him to be quiet on Mr. Gladstone's account. He then said, when he undertook his thankless office, that he did not think, and we did not think in our talks at Biarritz, that it would be as bad as it was; that Mr. Gladstone was getting old and could not last; that then, with Rosebery Prime Minister and Sir William Harcourt Leader in the House of Commons, there would be the spectacle of a Home Rule Government with neither Leader keen about it. Morley had told the Irish Members of Parliament that he would no longer meet them at an hotel, and after the dinner at the Mansion House, when he sat elbow to elbow with Redmond, it was absurd, because unnecessary; and so they were going to dine with him on his return.

Houghton, he thought, was clever, shrewd, and sensible, and anxious for work, but he was not "hail fellow well met" and was too kingly. Jekyll, whom I had sent him, was excellent, and she pleasant.

Then discussed the question of West Ridgeway being got out of the way, and his successor. He said they got on very well together, personally, but he could not leave



him where he was. His colleagues had not behaved well in not offering him anything better than Guiana, and he could not go on offering him things he would not take, and he would not, he was sure, take that, but refuse it, as he had Uganda.

I recommended Mowatt as Ridgeway's successor, and he said it was good; had thought at one time of Jekyll, whom I also had thought of. I said I preferred Mowatt. He said he wanted a man who was able to act, if trouble came from the North. I thought Mowatt was very strong, etc., etc. He said he should like to see him, which he can do to-morrow. He talked of the use I was, and said I knew the Cabinet far better than he did.

Question of whether I should wear Ribbon or Star at Carrington's dinner, or both. Mr. Gladstone picked me up at St. James's, and we were met at the door by Carrington, who wore his star only, so I put on mine. Prince of Wales and Duke of York, no suite; John Morley, who had been going to dine with Asquith, but was released for the occasion, and Rogers. A very pleasant, easy-going dinner—nothing very remarkable in conversation; about people, books, Duchess of Sutherland, E. L. Lawson, etc.

I told John Morley about my conversation with Lord Waterford; he said he still believed much good would come of a meeting; would I try and arrange it? Duke of York a nice young fellow. Talked of stamps, of which he is a collector, and of Admiral Fairfax's Court Martial, for which I grieve, as he was kind to Gilbert.

DECEMBER 19.—The Prince of Wales talked with enthusiasm about Harry Keppel.<sup>1</sup> Walked away with Mr. Gladstone, who was equally enthusiastic about the Prince of Wales, whom he thought the most agreeable of all the Royal Family—so pleasant and easy—in fact, he delighted in his dinner. When he first met the Archbishop of Canterbury at dinner, no one could go till he did. I said I supposed that now practically precedence was awarded him as Prime Minister, not as Privy Seal,

<sup>1</sup> Admiral of the Fleet the Hon. Sir H. Keppel, a brother-in-law of Sir Algernon West, who wrote a memoir of him.

which, of course, ought to give it him. "Sometimes," he said, "sometimes not, but at Windsor, never." Sir A. Buchanan, e.g., was sent out before him!

Had recommended Prince of Wales to read Beau Brummel's Life as amusing and instructive.

(Sir Henry Ponsonby writes with reference to Mr. Gladstone's proposed visit to Biarritz:)

OSBORNE, *December 18, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Thanks for your letter. I have shown it to the Queen, who thinks, from what you write, that Mr. Gladstone is not really ill, but restless from want of excitement, and yet I should think he had work enough on his hands, wherever he stayed.

She hopes his visit abroad will do him good—but knows that the older one gets, the more serious a journey becomes.

Yours truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

Acton told me he had seen Judge Mathew, who was not dissatisfied with his commission, and thought good would come of it. The truth was, the landlords asked for twenty years' purchase, the tenants offered fifteen, and the land was worth ten!

Early to Downing Street. Herbert sent me a monstrous letter of Labby's to read to Mr. Gladstone, which I certainly shall not do, as it was an Uganda attack on Rosebery. It would open up old wounds, and Mr. Gladstone would have to defend his policy and his colleagues if he read it, and this he could not do; so I returned it, telling Lord Rosebery and John Morley what I had done.

John Morley very low after an interview with Harcourt on the financial clauses of the Home Rule Bill. Told him he would never go and see him again on any subject, after which he softened. "But why," said John Morley, "should one have to go through this on every occasion? Oh! my dear West, Mr. Gladstone is very old. I heard from a non-political friend of a conversation in a bus: First artizan: 'Ah, Mr. Gladstone is too old to pass off

Home Rule.' Second: 'Yes, he is that, so old that he must make way for younger men.' That is what the public are thinking. There is an old Indian idea that when a great chief dies, his friends and horses and dogs should be buried with him. So it must be with us!"

DECEMBER 20.—I saw Mr. Gladstone, and went to Charing Cross to say "good-bye." Walked with John Morley, who told me Herschell and Rosebery approved of giving long leave to Ridgeway. I said I thought it would be weak, in which he agreed. Amazed him very much by saying that the Irish Home Rule Bill would be out in a day or two, as a Christmas number. Said "good-bye" and went to Herkomer, where my picture was finished, after eight sittings—excellent.

Saw Rosebery, who showed me the papers relating to the leadership of House of Lords, which showed clearly that he never meant to take it. Said Mr. Gladstone appeared annoyed last night, and thought he had played fast and loose. He feared Mr. Gladstone contemplated offering it to Spencer, from his thorough knowledge of the Irish Question. I said it was impossible as Kimberley was so excellent. Rosebery said Spencer would not take it—but we must prevent its being offered to him. Rosebery feared that something had happened to Mr. Gladstone that we were kept ignorant of. I do not believe it, but he does. Nothing that I know of worse than when John Morley was at Hawarden.

I dined at St. James's with Welby and Acton, and had a very good talk on Pitt and Burke. Pitt's great financial powers before 1800 and Burke's fame diminishing—Pitt's nobleness in declining the Clerkship of the Pells in his poverty, while Burke was bargaining with Sir R. Walpole for the reversion of it.

The myth of Pitt's rejection of Mlle Necker, and his grandiloquent saying: "Do you not know that I am already wedded to my country?" though it was really Mlle Necker who refused him.

Of Burke's enormous literary powers and Whewell's knowledge but want of influence.

Was Sir Richard Owen<sup>1</sup> a naval or military doctor? I said not naval, and as a proof of it I quoted a ghost story which he told me happened when he was a young soldier at Preston.

Napoleon's wonderful powers, and Gladstone's admiration of him. When the medal was struck for Austerlitz, it was one eagle tearing two in pieces. Napoleon said, "No, put three untorn eagles; the world will always know which was the conqueror."

His saying when he returned from Elba was, "I heard in my tomb the voice of France." When impatient for some dispatches at Turin, his aide-de-camp said, "You are impatient, sire." "Yes," said he, "I have lost battles, but I never lose moments."

Acton was particularly amused by my telling him of Lady Randolph's saying: instead of "the woman who hesitates is lost"—"the woman who does not hesitate is lost."

DECEMBER 21.—A black fog, which ended at St. Paul's on my way to the City.

The Queen objects to Arch being on the Old Age Pension Commission—looking upon him as an agitator.

Found a letter from F. Knollys about Thurlow and asking me to Sandringham. I rushed across and asked if it was a command, and on my telling him I was going that night to the "Glen" for a fortnight's holiday, he went to the Prince and explained to him satisfactorily; so, at any rate, my visit to Sandringham is postponed.

About Arch, who represents the Prince's division of the county, and for whom all his people voted, the Prince was most anxious for him to be on the Commission, so I suppose Her Majesty will have to give way. Saw Horace, and settled he was to keep Knollys *au fait* on the subject.

The Prince agreed to open the Trades Union Show.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Owen, the great anatomist. But I think that Sir Algernon was mistaken in saying he was a "soldier." A friend of Owen's to whom I showed this writes, "He was neither naval nor military, but apprentice to a surgeon at Lancaster when this occurred. I have heard him tell the story inimitably."

He is getting on, and really well, always in the right direction.

Started for "Glen" and was ashamed to find Mark Napier travelling third class and I in a Pullman; however, we met and passed the time at Galashiels.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W., *December 21, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—A line to relieve your mind before you start. I have explained about Scotland to the Prince of Wales, and he *quite understands*.

He is anxious that Arch should serve on the Royal Commission,<sup>1</sup> and should it be necessary he has desired me to write to H. Ponsonby on the subject.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

He will open the Trades Union Exhibition.

DECEMBER 22.—At "Glen" read Milner's book and had a little talk with Miss Margot. Told her of my conversation with Asquith, and all the messages<sup>2</sup> I brought. She has no intention of marrying at all at present—which is wise.

DECEMBER 23.—A divine sunny morning. Miss Margot busy about the schoolmistress's wedding; but had a little talk in the "Doocot" before she started; showed me a good letter from Asquith, saying Spencer would be too proud a man to serve as a figurehead in any administration. As she went out she said: "I shall pray for you at Traquair that we may be always dear friends, and that you and I and your dear boy Gilbert and Laura [her sister] may meet hereafter."

Heard from Godley:

BETTESHANGER, DOVER, *December 21, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Could you spare time to send me *one line* to let me know what has been settled as to the P. Sec.'s duties during the next fortnight? I see nothing in the papers; but I hope it has been settled that

<sup>1</sup> On Old Age Pensions.

<sup>2</sup> The general purport of the messages may be surmised from the sentence which follows.

Shand is to go there? I hope also that things are more comfortable all round than when I saw you last? I left London on Saturday, so I have heard nothing about anything. I hope you are going to get some holiday yourself. I am here till the 3rd or 4th of next month, unless anything unforeseen should bring me up next week. Have you lately read John Morley's *Life of Burke* in the old series of British authors? I was looking at it the other day: there are some very interesting points of resemblance and contrast (chiefly the latter) between him and Mr. G. There is one incident common to both which I think would strike you—but I will not mention it until I see you.

Yours ever, A. GODLEY.

Saying "good-night" Margot said, "I sometimes think I am like Pharaoh, whose heart was hardened."

"Yes," I said, "but you will never let the Children of Israel go."

Miss Margot read her criticisms on Madame de Rémusat and Napoleon, who at a fête had written over his throne, "I am what I am. The House of Buonaparte dates from 18th Brumaire."

In presenting some pistols to Moreau, with his victories inscribed on their stocks, Napoleon said: "I could not have them more ornamented; your victories took up all the space."

Talked of T. P. O'Connor's *Life of Parnell*, who, he said, was like an eclipse or an earthquake.

She talks of Parnell's eyes, which were certainly wonderful, and his always considering what he was going to say; and of Rosebery's *Pitt*, which she criticized admirably; and of *David Grieve*, which she finds fault with more gently than I should have done; Barrie's *Little Minister* and Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, and Zola's *Débâcle*, which, I like to think, horrifies and shocks her.

DECEMBER 25.—Godfrey Webb<sup>1</sup> told us a story of a boy being scolded, and asked why he beat a gosling said, "What call had goose-chick's father to bite I last year?"

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Godfrey Webb had some celebrity as a raconteur. This specimen is hardly a favourable example.

Looking through books, I asked who wrote the inscription ‘ Oh rare Ben Jonson ! ’ We searched all his *Life* and all the epitaphs and epigrams written on him, in vain ; but at last we found that it had been suggested at Ben Jonson’s funeral by Jack Young, afterwards Sir J. Young, who then and there paid a man 1s. 6d. to carve it on his monument !

DECEMBER 26.—Gloriously and dazzlingly bright, and very, very cold.

Walked with Miss Margot in the sunshine and talked of Mr. Gladstone’s successor—Rosebery, I said ; Margot said Sir W. Harcourt would never serve under him. I said he would. John Morley would not, she said ; I disagreed in that, and in her thinking that John Morley had not got hold of the country.

Then came together on Napoleon and his sublime individuality and ambition.

To Laura Lyttelton’s grave, and in the midst of the eternal hills pictured her as with dear Gilbert, waiting and praying for us. God grant it may be true.

Then home, in the keen afterglow, and read Miss Margot’s diary in Egypt and Glasgow, which she thought I should not like, because she spoke of Gladstone’s insularity and my self-consciousness : in both of which I agreed, as well as in her description of Goschen and her satire of Childers.

She then, in the “ Doocot,” read what was to have been her first article in the paper which never appeared—simply excellent—“ Men, not Measures,” i.e. men who were thought of as individualities and not as authors of measures—Moses, Napoleon, Gladstone, Dizzy, and Parnell. The code of Napoleon alone remains. The results of his victories have disappeared, but he is still a permanent and living name.

Chamberlain’s contagious belief in himself and his compelling individuality make him what he is.

Rosebery an individuality.

Harcourt a lifelong imitation of a great man.

John Morley has tenacity and conviction, over-delicacy and nervous organization, but lack of animal spirits disqualifies him as a leader, etc.

What a wonderful girl she is ! How brilliant and clever an individuality, greater, surely, than anyone I know ; and then, with all this, so full of thoughtfulness and consideration.

Nobody who does not know her life at "Glen" can know her. They see her faults and dwell on them, and on flaws in her writings, and say it is easy if you do not care what you do and what you say to be clever—when they cannot hold a candle to her ! If she had not faults, which I am not blind to, and which hurt me, she would be perfect—and perfection does not exist.

A great man dinner, but she kept them all going and amusing all through, and was a host and hostess in herself !

In her diary she had a fine bit of satire of Childers :

"The only man who foretold the exact issue of the election was Mr. Childers. A more striking example of his intellect cannot be recorded."

About Goschen she says :

"I am fond of him, and think he is a very faithful friend if he once likes you. As a public man he is not attractive ; he has innate suspicion and none of the courage which goes with generosity ; he does not share blame or distribute praise ; he is keenly alive to public and even private opinion. Deliberation or suspended judgment is a valuable and politic quality, but it must come from conviction, not caution ; from discovering the moment of a situation, not from temporizing with circumstances."

Excellent, only a little too flattering.

DECEMBER 27.—Spencer Lyttelton came. I had a line from John Morley—sad about the Dublin explosions :

CHIEF SECRETARY'S LODGE, PHENIX PARK, *December 25, 1892.*

A thousand thanks to you, my dear West, for thinking of my day. It does not find me quite as happy as last Christmas. Do you remember our going to Mass at Bayonne ?

The papers will tell you why my Christmas is not exactly merry. *Pas de chance* for this helpless country.

Ever your friend, J. M.



Sat in my own room, reading *Mme de Rémusat*. Miss Margot is like Madame de Staël, of whom Napoleon says : "That woman makes a man think"; and I have been thinking how well she took my criticisms yesterday, some of them severe, about certain passages in her Egyptian diary, which I said were not worthy of her and were deficient in refinement. The afterglow lightening up the hills with rosy kisses, and the purple birches enamelled with crisp rime, made the place look enchanted, like a fairyland. I have never before felt enthusiastic in a winter scene like this.

(The following letter is from Sir Herbert Jekyll, then secretary to Lord Houghton in Ireland. Lord Houghton had declined to receive certain addresses.)

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *December 24, 1892.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—The history of the addresses is simply this. The Chamber of Commerce sent a copy of the Address which they desired to present, and asked that a day might be appointed for receiving it. Lord Houghton read the Address, and finding that it contained strong expressions of opinion in favour of maintaining the legislative Union, considered that such expressions were out of place in an Address of Welcome, and desired me to communicate his opinion privately to the Secretary. This I did by word of mouth, pointing out that though H.E. had no wish to limit the freest expression of political views, he thought it unseemly that matters involving issues of acute party controversy should be introduced on an occasion when, as the representative of the Sovereign, he wished to dissociate himself from party questions. It was urged in reply that the Chamber were following their usual custom, and that a similar Address had been accepted by Lord Aberdeen. It was also mentioned that the terms of the Address had been hotly debated in the Chamber, which is a strongly Unionist body, and that a proposal to omit the offending paragraph had been defeated by a large majority.

Lord Houghton did not think himself bound by Lord Aberdeen's action, and considered that he was justified

in setting a new precedent by refusing to receive the Address unless the controversial matter was left out. I communicated this decision to the Secretary privately, telling him that H.E. would willingly receive a simple Address of Welcome and giving him the opportunity of amending the Address that had been prepared. However, they preferred war to peace, and published the correspondence.

Soon after this came a somewhat similar Address from the Methodist Church, and the same performance was gone through again. This time a considerable interval elapsed between the first receipt of the proposed Address and the publication of the correspondence, and I believe that the Address would have been altered had not the original terms by some misadventure found their way into the newspapers, so that the point of honour became involved, and the Methodists thought it necessary to take the high line. It is not improbable that they were trading upon the sympathy of the Nonconformists in England and Scotland, and hoped to create prejudice against the Government by what they endeavoured to construe into a snub to themselves.

They had every opportunity of recasting their Address. After what had happened in the Chamber of Commerce the Address as it stood was little less than a challenge.

I do not believe that any Addresses of Welcome presented to Lords Zetland and Londonderry<sup>1</sup> contained expressions favourable to Home Rule, for two reasons :

1. No mention of such a fact was made in the course of the heated discussion which followed the rejection of the Addresses.

2. The public bodies who are in the habit of welcoming the Viceroy are all either non-political or strongly Unionist.

The precedent of Lord Aberdeen was frequently quoted, but no reference to the others was to my knowledge ever made. Lord Houghton was well aware that he was making a new departure, but he was convinced that the innovation was a wholesome one, and he had the full concurrence of Mr. Morley. He has repeatedly stated

<sup>1</sup> Previous Viceroys.

that his objection is confined to the mixing up of party questions with Addresses of Welcome, and that it applies equally to both sides.

I have had nothing to tell you lately. The country is perfectly quiet, rents are well paid, and the crops have turned out better than was anticipated. Lord Londonderry's assertions about outrages are all wrong—there is a distinct diminution of crime and outrage as compared with this time last year. The instalments of tenants who purchased under the Ashbourne Acts are being punctually paid, and I hear from a trustworthy quarter that the purchasers have almost ceased to take an interest in politics, and devote their whole energies to the improvement of their land. The change is said to be very remarkable. On some estates, especially on the larger estates upon which the landlords reside, there is no desire on the part of the tenants to purchase. They are better off as they are, and they know it. Compulsory purchase on a large scale would be extremely unpopular. With a few notorious exceptions, I believe that the larger landlords treat their people with fairness and consideration. It is generally the smaller owners, such as local solicitors and squireens, who are harsh and grasping. These and the country moneylenders do most of the mischief.

Mr. Morley's kindly mention of me is extremely gratifying. He has been very good to me, and I wish I had the opportunity of showing my appreciation of his kindness by rendering him some service. I fear he will find his task a heavy one when Parliament meets. I only hope he will not overwork himself.

With all good wishes for Christmas, in which my wife joins, believe me,

Yours very truly, HERBERT JEKYLL.

Sir Algernon forwarded the letter to Sir Francis Knollys for the Prince's reading. Sir F. K. replies :

PRIVATE

SANDBRINGHAM, NORFOLK, *December 28, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Many thanks for Major Jekyll's letter which you have kindly sent me, and which I have shown

to the Prince of Wales. Personally, I think that as a matter of principle Houghton is right in refusing, as the Queen's representative, to accept Addresses of Welcome which contain political and party matter of an objectionable nature.

Your son was most kind in writing to me twice about Arch. H. Ponsonby, without my having mentioned the subject to him, wrote and told me why the Queen had hesitated in giving her approval to Arch, and why also she had given way. I told him in reply that the Prince of Wales was very glad Arch was to be on the Royal Commission, as otherwise his exclusion would probably have been put down to him.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

The Prince is sending Mr. Gladstone a telegram to-morrow.

BETTESHANGER, DOVER, *December 26, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I must send you a line of thanks for your very interesting letter. You did a good piece of work when you settled the question about the private secretary, and what is also very important, you have shown that you are capable of getting your way in spite of opposition: this will have a good effect.

It was a relief to my mind when I saw in the paper, a day or two after I had written to you, that Shand was to be there.

The Cabinet parted without an explosion: that was all that could be hoped, and you may now enjoy your Christmas with the sense that you have played a difficult game with success.

As at present advised, I cannot agree that Mr. G. would be justified in retiring when the Lords throw out his Bill.

I had a letter two or three days ago from Welby, enclosing a copy of Latin verses, really very good, which he had composed on some champagne which he is apparently presenting to Mr. Gladstone. Have you seen them?

Talking about champagne, I believe you are perfectly right about Mr. Gladstone's manner of living and need of stimulus. The House of Commons will do him no

harm : what worries him and takes it out of him is having to deal with personal questions, personal claims, quarrels, and squabbles. And I am inclined to hope that the worst of these are over.

I have read most of Milner's book [*England in Egypt*] : it is excellent, and will have a great effect, not only because it is so readable and will have such a large circulation, but also because he adopts the most effective way of putting his case, viz. to state the facts, make the premises perfectly clear, and then *leave it to the jury to draw their own conclusions*. You may remember that Lord Abinger, than whom there has been no more successful advocate, gave this as the secret of his success.

Yours ever, with all good wishes, A. GODLEY.

That things are changed from the days of Pitt, when his Cabinet consisted of six members, of whom he was the only Commoner, nobody will deny. The greater the number, the greater the difficulty of reconciling various opinions and bringing them into harmony.

But these difficulties, well known to Mr. Gladstone, only go to show the courage and the greatness of the task undertaken by him when he began his fourth Government, at an age when most men are seeking the repose they have won from a strenuous life.

Lord Rosebery thought it a tragedy ; I knew it was ; but the least I could do was to give as much help as I could, little though it was, to one who had ever been my master and my friend.

I recollect in, I think, one of A. Trollope's excellent novels, that the young lady says : " I wonder if a Prime Minister ever knows that his boots want mending." She little knew that the overwhelming duties of that position are weighted by the consideration of the most insignificant details of daily life, among which patronage occupies an unproportionate space.

(On this occasion, however, Sir Algernon's devotion and sense of duty to his master did not lead him to spend his Christmas at Biarritz, whither Mr. Gladstone had gone at the end of the year. He was, as we have seen, in the

best of company and circumstance at the "Glen." At the turn of the year he had the two letters following from Biarritz :)

GRAND HOTEL, BIARRITZ, *December 27, 1892.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I am happy to say that Mr. Gladstone has not been at all upset by this affair at Dublin—he had a capital night, not in the least disturbed—but he thought Mr. Morley might have sent him word earlier than he did. The explosion occurred at a little after eleven on *Saturday* night and Mr. Morley did not send word of it till late on *Monday* afternoon, and by that time it was known all over the place—and generally stated that Mr. G. was going back to England that night. To-day we were going over to Cambo—about 15 miles off—a day's expedition, but it was postponed, partly on account of the weather and partly because Mr. Gladstone wished to see the papers and what they said. He read *The Times* article, and Mr. A[rmitstead] said he was in very good spirits after it. They drove over this afternoon to Bayonne, called and left cards on the General, left books at the Bayonne library (some of Mr. Gladstone's works, I think), and then on their return left cards on Princess Frederica, whose husband has just called and asked them to go and see the Princess, and this they are to do on Thursday, as at present arranged. I enclose the Christmas dinner card for this year, which may remind you of your presence here last year.

Yours very truly, H. SHAND.

BIARRITZ, *December 31, 1892.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Both on general grounds, and from my lively recollection of the cook as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*,<sup>1</sup> I have truly desired to meet his wishes for some sort of literary or political consultation. But I have thought and thought, and consulted the oracle within, which has made no response. From out of the

<sup>1</sup> A little joke of Mr. Gladstone's. The late Sir E. T. Cook had been editor of the *P.M.G.* until lately, but was now editing the *Westminster Gazette*.

silent caves I am obliged to answer that it is beyond my power. I have nothing but my heartiest good wishes to offer; combining with them the further wish that I had any means of showing how hearty they are.

I stand upon a ledge which just gives me standing ground to resist old editors and friends. Were I to give way but once and write, I should have given way in all. More explanation when we meet.

Ever yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Accept a voiceless "Happy New Year."

## CHAPTER VIII

1893

### THE CABINET AT WORK

ON January 1, 1893, at "Glen," where I have spent so many happy New Year days, and we woke to a white world, but went to kirk, and I had a little quiet talk with Miss Margot, whose good qualities grow every year.

We had a long discussion on *Esther Vanhomrigh* and the treatment of Swift's life by the authoress.<sup>1</sup> We were all against Miss Margot in saying you had no right in a biography to mix reality and imagination. Though she was wrong, and knew she was, she held her own splendidly, and with great wit and good humour, admitting, as Dr. Johnson did, that she fought for victory.

Read Abraham Hayward's essays in the *Quarterly* on Strawberry Hill, Tennyson and Byron (whom he defends), and Holland House. "When ladies get hold of a little learning they experience no sense of danger."

We talked of "last words." Madame du Deffand's (1780) to her secretary: "Vous m'aimez donc?" Goethe's: "More light." Schlegel's "But." "Give Dayrolles a chair," said Lord Chesterfield. "Life is a poor vanity," were Locke's. "Still learning," said Michael Angelo when on a sick-bed he was making a little sketch. Who said "I leave my soul, if I have a soul, to God, if there is a God"? It was not Voltaire, as I once thought it was.

Acton, I hear, has been very interesting at Biarritz on the French Revolution and Napoleon. He told a story of Tissot, who had carried the Princesse de Lamballe's head on a pike, laughing at the erect manner in which a man held the head, which prompted the man to say: "C'est comme ça qu'on la porte lorsqu'on n'a jamais porté que la sienne."

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Woods.



Napoleon made two attempts at suicide :

(1) At Arcis-sur-Aube (1814), seeing that the battle was going against him, he made his horse stand over a shell with a burning fuse, which burst, but hurt neither horse nor rider.

(2) At Fontainebleau he took poison, but it failed in its effect and only made him dangerously ill for a time. The poison had been carried about by Napoleon in the retreat from Moscow, to prevent his capture alive by the Cossacks, but it had lost its power in the interval.

Riding away from Waterloo, after a long silence, Napoleon said to Count Flahaut, "*Depuis Crécy, c'est impossible de vaincre les anglais.*"

Count Flahaut<sup>1</sup> was in the Marengo campaign (1800) and died on the day of Sedan !

Napoleon said that Masséna and Gouvion St. Cyr were his superiors as generals.

I had a talk with Haldane on the political outlook. He thought Sir W. Harcourt would not serve under Lord Rosebery. I differed, thinking that Harcourt would be very disagreeable about it, but would acquiesce. Haldane thought that with Mr. Gladstone would go a number of the older politicians, Mundella, G. Lefevre, and possibly John Morley, who was not rough-hewn enough for politics, and had ruined himself by want of sympathy with everything but Home Rule. He advised me to omit all epigrams and dramatic points, and to be very straight and simple in my speech on the presentation of my picture, which was to take place soon.

Talked of Asquith's position with Miss Margot, who showed me Arthur Balfour's criticism of her article on personalities, which I did not think very good. He talked of Pitt as a personality from his youth, Mr. Gladstone as an individuality from his age, and that his (Arthur Balfour's) success was owing to the accident of Hicks Beach's<sup>2</sup> ill-health, which is nonsense. I made Miss Margot write back :

<sup>1</sup> Count Flahaut was very young to be at the battle—under 16 !

<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. J. Balfour became Irish Secretary when Sir Michael Hicks Beach gave up owing to his eyes failing.

“A stone that is fit for the wall is not left in the way.”  
An old Persian proverb which I much admire.

(The following letter is from Miss Leiter, who married the Hon. George Curzon, now Marquess Curzon of Kedleston :)

THE BREST, ROME, *January 2, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGY,—I was delighted to have a letter from you and to hear your news. I am sure I wish I had been at “Glen” when you were there. I quite long for a glimpse of my much loved English friends, and I have been sad ever since my family elected to come to Europe by a southern route to avoid the North Atlantic gales. We did well in one way, for we had a delightful voyage and Liverpool vessels were well-nigh wrecked and the gales on the Atlantic have been frightful. I am looking eagerly to April, when we shall be back in London for a month and I shall enjoy a peep at the roses at dear Wanborough. I hope my bush gains in height and flourishes in beauty. I shall be quite inconsolable if I hear it has faded and died. I delight in Rome and wish we were to stay on, but we go to Egypt, as part of my family are much the worse for the influenza and we are in search of warmth and sunshine, which seem scarce in Rome. There is plenty of cheer by lamplight, and the Romans are some of them great dears.

I read of you with so much interest, your journeyings with the G.O.M. and your portrait by Herkomer for Somerset House. I hope I shall see the portrait when we come to England. *Is* Margot to be married—she speaks of matrimony and the Lohengrin—and I wonder if she has sealed her fate !

You must give my devoted love to dear Lady West and to Constance, and I am

Always your faithfully sincere, MARY VICTORIA LEITER.

I left “Glen,” after a delightful visit, and travelled through bright sunshine to Leeds, where I had a cup of tea with my son Reggie, and went on to Hickleton—Halifax’s place, near Doncaster, which I had not been to since I was there with his father, Sir C. Wood, twenty years

before, at the time when I was his secretary. Found Mary looking well, and a very ecclesiastical party—Mrs. Talbot and her children from Leeds, Duke of Newcastle, and two clergymen. Had some clerical whist after dinner.

JANUARY 5.—Very cold and white. Walked. I had a discussion with Halifax on capital punishment, which I should like to see abolished, and was surprised, not only at his strong advocacy of it, but at his views of the object of the punishment, which, quite apart from its deterrent effect, he regarded as a means of expiation, which would be liked and longed for by a penitent sinner.

JANUARY 10.—To see Walter Burns, of Messrs. J. P. Morgan's, who was very friendly and did not believe that any call would be made on banks which were guarantors of Barings',<sup>1</sup> but thought we should have to accept private properties as securities for any sum we were called on to pay as guarantors.

To Downing Street, where John Morley came, sat a long time and had tea, saying he was satisfied on the whole with the state of Ireland; that there was little doubt but that both parties, "Redmondites" and "Nationalists," would support the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill. Did I think it would go further, or did I think that the Cabinet would refuse? I thought it necessary that it should proceed, as, at Mr. Gladstone's age, it was then or never, and that it would be unworthy of him to leave it incomplete. My prayers were, that he should carry it to the Lords and then retire, leaving it to younger men to conduct the Constitutional fight with the Peers.

On the question of the vacant Irish Secretaryship, he told me that after weighing Jekyll and Mowatt he had come to the conclusion that, seeing the important part the police played, and would play in the future, he considered Harrel's appointment was best.

He described the interview between Welby, Sexton, and Dillon. Sexton was not at first at all impressed by Welby, but the second interview showed Welby at his

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burns proved right. This was at the time of Barings' bank failure, from which the bank later made a great recovery.

best, and his very great knowledge and ability, which were not on the surface. Sexton and Dillon were the first Nationalists who had ever been at the Viceregal Lodge.

Houghton had crossed over with Lady Londonderry.

Told me of his annual dinner with Lord Justice FitzGibbon; they dined in shooting coats and slippers, or anyhow, provided they were not clean, at 7; ate and drank till about 8.30. Played cards till twelve, then a supper of oysters and snipe; then cards till any hour. Randolph Churchill looked very ill. David Plunkett was prematurely old. Lord Morris recovered his nearly lost reputation, and was very good company, in a series of stories about the Irish Revolution of 1848. No woman was allowed in the house, and in the morning at 10 Lord Justice FitzGibbon, unshorn and untoothed, brought them each a cup of tea in his dressing-gown. They breakfasted at 11; they again began to play cards, and this went on for a week, and, as I said, was only comparable to the description of an orgy given by Sir Jonah Barrington one hundred years ago in Ireland.

At 6 I went to Charing Cross, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone on their return from Biarritz. They both appeared tired, and no wonder; but on my going to Downing Street, I found him wonderfully well and fresh. Told him of Lord Jersey's resignation of New South Wales. He was sure that if offered to Lord Aberdeen he would refuse it.

Mr. Gladstone asked me to dine; but John Morley and Welby were coming to us and we dined a *partie carrée* at home—most agreeable. John Morley said Dillon did not expect the Home Rule Bill to be carried this year, but had implored him to propose such a Bill as would, for the next ten years (during which Irish affairs would be the leading political question), stand forth as the work of the Liberal party and enable the Irish to work with them. John Morley said that since the Home Rule Bill had been circulated, there had been no discussion of it among Cabinet Ministers as far as he knew. He had received a few trivial remarks from Shaw Lefevre. Her-

schell had received none, and Spencer had had two letters from Harcourt, one, *couleur de rose*, the other containing expressions about the Bill and Mr. Gladstone which were what Spencer called "very reprehensible," and I might judge what that meant.

At dinner we had a discussion about the financial clauses and the retention of Irish Members clause, which John Morley thought would be the cruces of the Bill.

Welby gave us a preliminary and a most interesting comparison of finance in Belgium and Ireland, and John Morley put the dilemma, of, say, an enthusiast for Welsh Disestablishment losing all chance of passing it by losing the votes of the Irishmen. I told John Morley that Mr. Gladstone thought him remiss in not sending him earlier news of the Dublin explosion. He said, when Sir R. de Coverley was walking with a friend by the side of a river, the friend threw his watch in the river and put the pebble in his pocket. Sir R. de Coverley did not tell him, being sure that the knowledge of his calamity would come soon enough.

JANUARY 11.—Discussed with Mr. Gladstone the question of the Leadership of the Lords. Failing Rosebery, I disputed Mr. Gladstone's idea of Lord Spencer, saying that I had always heard the highest praise of Kimberley, and his experience and tact were very great, while Lord Spencer had not, neither had Lord Rosebery, his knowledge of affairs. He said he must speak to Harcourt. Chamberlain had written to Harcourt asking him to make arrangements for the Liberal Unionists sitting below the gangway, as they did not wish to sit with the Tories nor behind the front bench. Mr. Gladstone agreed, saying the Peelites always sat there.

Loulou Harcourt said Labby had written again as to Washington to Rosebery, who had told him the question should be referred to Mr. Gladstone, John Morley, and Harcourt. Labouchere had also written to Sir W. Harcourt offering to resign his seat, and saying that he was sick of the House of Commons. I should be very sorry to advise.

The next morning—with Mr. Gladstone I had an inter-

esting discussion (renewed later with John Morley) as to where the Liberal Unionists should sit. Mr. Gladstone gave, as reasons for their sitting on the second bench below the gangway, the case of the Canningites in 1828, and of Stanley and Graham when they left Lord Grey's Government. Also of Graham in Peel's short Government, Bright and Cobden when they left Palmerston, and the Peelites when they left Palmerston in 1855—all sat on the second bench below the gangway, which appeared conclusive.

I remarked that Chamberlain talked of a "temporary separation."

It was most desirable that the Irish should come over on to the Government side; in Committee it was specially desirable. John Morley was to try J. McCarthy, but feared failure, as the Nationalists said their party was already accused of having sold themselves to the Whigs, etc. Kimberley remains Leader in the Lords notwithstanding his hopes that Lord Rosebery would be. A talk with *him*, of course a long one, till, as I said to Arthur Godley, he foamed at the mouth.

A walk and talk with John Morley on Labouchere again pressing for Washington, saying that his allotted term of life was nine years more, and he wanted to spend the miserable remains in Washington.

Heard that he was going, supported by Dilke, to move an amendment on Uganda.

When he was at Homburg, he got a pair of boots which fitted and pleased him, so he consulted the tables in *Whitaker* to see his expectation of life, and ordered boots sufficient to last for that number of years.

SECRET

*From Hon. E. Marjoribanks*

NINEWELLS, January 12, 1893.

MY DEAR ALGY,—I hear there is a renewal of negotiation between Rosebery and Labby, and that there is a proposal emanating from the latter that he should pair and go abroad for six weeks and then give up his seat and eventually be sent to Washington, and that so the

possibility of a charge that he had been bought by the offer of place should be got over. Rosebery seems to have taken this *ad avizandum*, as we say in Scotland, and is to talk to Mr. G. on this subject. I wish this could be managed. Please give this idea what help you can, but don't let Rosebery know that I have put in my oar or know of the new intrigue.

The great thing is that R. should consider any arrangement the offspring of his own mind, that he has been *soufflé* by nobody, and that nobody has been approached to influence him. He has a curious dread of not appearing absolute in his own house, the F.O.

Be sure and tell me true if there is the least need for me before Monday morning, or else if my absence is commented on.

Yours always, E. M.

Also I return Mundella's letter *re* Bernard Coleridge. Certainly he would do it well. I make no objection to his seconding, but stick to Lambert moving.

*From E. T. Cook, Editor of the "Westminster Gazette"*

6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, W.C., January 12, 1893.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am very much obliged by your kindness in getting Mr. Gladstone to send me the letter, which I have duly received. I am afraid you may wish that you had never shown me any kindness at all, for I am now going to presume upon it to make yet another request. It occurs to me that a most interesting article might be written on "How a Prime Minister spends his Day," describing the multifarious duties and how they are disposed of, his relations to the principal departments, etc., etc.; and the article would be additionally attractive if it contained such information as might be given without impropriety about the manner of work by different Prime Ministers of recent days. The article would be very interesting at any time; but especially so just now when so much interest is taken in Mr. Gladstone's Premiership as a personal matter. Can you suggest who would be the best man to write such an article? But this question is only a veil while I screw up my courage for a more

presumptuous one, which is, could you yourself (of course in the strictest confidence if you so desired) write such an article for me, or give me any help? You were good enough to say the other day that the old *Pall Mall* often contained something fresh and interesting. I should dearly like at any rate one issue of the new *Westminster* to carry on that tradition, and I am sure that the article I suggest, written with the full knowledge of one always behind the scenes, would be as interesting as anything that could be published.

Yours faithfully, E. T. Cook.

*From Hon. E. Marjoribanks*

NINEWELLS, January 13, 1893.

MY DEAR ALGY,—Many thanks. I will be at No. 12 Monday morning.

1. Our people will never consent to concede any place to the Liberal Unionists on our side of the House. It would be futile to entertain the idea and bad policy to try it on.

2. Chairman of ways and means must not be Courtney.

3. Mover and seconder—my yesterday's note answers this.

Lambert to move; Paul, Bernard Coleridge, or Mark Napier to second.

Yours always, E. M.

JANUARY 13.—A letter from Dr. Temple sending a theological book by Dr. Westcott, whom he described as the greatest living theologian. Mr. Gladstone demurred. Said he did not approach Dr. Lightfoot—but then he was dead.

A talk with John Morley, Welby, and Hamilton on Irish finance, but from what was said I did not augur well for our simple scheme—Mr. Gladstone liking his complicated plan—and there is nobody in the Cabinet who will argue it with him, I fear.

Talked over possible candidates for New South Wales with Ripon. Ribblesdale's name suggested itself to me after I left him. Told Lady Ripon, whom I saw and had



a long talk with. She is to sound Duchess of Sutherland for Mistress of the Robes.

After the Cabinet, Ripon, Bryce, and Arnold Morley came to tea. They had had considerable discussion over the retention of Irish Members in the House of Commons. Asquith and others were in favour of the Irish voting on anything. However, it was settled that their number should be reduced to about eighty, and they should not vote on questions exclusively British.

Ripon had offered Aberdeen New South Wales, but he declined it, as Mr. Gladstone anticipated.

*January 14, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Aberdeen refuses. I enclose his letter. Please return it.

Please find out what Mr. Gladstone would think of Brassey for New South Wales. He would do very well if he would take it.

Yours ever, RIPON.

*January 18, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Lady Ripon has told me of your suggestion of Ribblesdale for N.S.W. I think it very good and should be very glad if you would ascertain privately whether he would be likely to accept. You will judge whether you should say anything to Mr. G., as R.'s appointment would vacate the Buckhounds.

Curiously enough, I have just got a letter from R. saying that he wants to see me and will call at 3.30 to-day. Of course I cannot see him then, as I shall be at the Cabinet. Can this have anything to do with N.S.W.? I suppose not, as the vacancy is not known. But if he should call again after the Cabinet would you advise me to speak to him or to leave it to you?

Yours ever, RIPON.

JANUARY 15.—I saw Mrs. Gaskell and arranged, if possible, a dinner with her, with the object of John Morley meeting Lord Waterford.

JANUARY 16.—I had a talk with Mr. Gladstone on Irish finance. I said I differed from his plan, which he showed

me, because it was essential that it should be clear and simple, and that any arrangement must be a generous one, that we ought not to reckon on Irish economy seeing how we had failed in it ourselves. He said he was more "Treasury" than any of us, but it must be decided by the Cabinet. I hoped he would postpone consideration of his plan until Wednesday's Cabinet in order that the Cabinet might know something about it. This was settled. Spencer said it was too difficult to expect an opinion on offhand.

I met Ribblesdale, and sounded him as to New South Wales; he declined, but was grateful, for which I was thankful.

*From Lord Acton*

MY DEAR WEST,—I felt as if I was in Pall Mall again on reading your letter, and thank you for it *toto corde*. Your report of Mr. G.'s health keeps up my spirits, after what I have read in divers papers since his return, and the vision of John Morley in a hopeful state of mind is new and comforting. I don't suppose there will be any duties, and Kimberley would hardly know where to summon me from. But the moment will be so prodigiously important and charged with futurity, that I must come over for the opening, and for the Queen's Speech dinner, if there is such a festive thing.

I go into waiting again March 7, and as I fancy Mr. G. likes me to be at Windsor I shall not try for an exchange, although it will hardly be possible to be with my girls between the production of the Bill and my wait in March. Wolverton's<sup>1</sup> unjustifiable absence and the absent 8th bring one's turn round again as if there were only six of us.

If Labouchere's offer is still open, I do not think we are strong enough to scout it; at least we might negotiate. It would have to be done with Cleveland; and as he was so implacable with Sackville, he would not be likely to offend again, and having snubbed the Tory Government,

<sup>1</sup> One of the Lords-in-Waiting.

ostensibly on Irish grounds—certainly under Irish pressure—he would have a motive not to be stiff-necked with us, who stand and fall with Ireland, and even if he should raise objections—which is, no doubt, on the cards—we should do something towards disarming Labby at the critical moment, if we undertook to propose him, fairly trying it on at Washington, at the risk of a refusal. The refusal in itself would not be an intolerable affliction; at least it would be less than a majority brought down by defection to an irreducible minimum. I talked it over with the man who of all men knows America best, and he thought there was still little or no risk. But he will not press his view because of the delicacy between him and Rosebery.

To my mind the chief objection would be the superseding of Pauncefoot, who probably would not care to remain after having been made a convenience.

But I feel strongly that there is a situation here which an ancient Venetian or Florentine diplomatist would have seen his way to employ to the opportune neutralization of Labby.

There is nothing to be done with Harrison. He would refuse. The point is, to give Labby a pledge to appoint him as soon as Cleveland is in the White House. . . .

Ever yours, ACTON.

8 BRIENNERSTRASSE, MUNICH, *January 15, 1893.*

JANUARY 17.—I saw Asquith, who told me that an Egyptian Crisis had arisen, and that a Cabinet was summoned for 5 o'clock.

Met Ripon, who was in a great state about Cromer's suggestion that he should militarily occupy the public offices, etc.

Another telegram from Cromer, saying: "The French have no part in the intrigue, which is supposed to be Nubar Pasha's."<sup>1</sup> I suggested Alfred Milner being sent for—but my proposal was not accepted.

Ripon asked whether Elgin should be offered New

<sup>1</sup> Nubar, who had been Prime Minister, was out of office since 1888, but he again became Premier in 1894.

South Wales. Mr. Gladstone had no objection, except on the grounds of diminishing the small band of Home Rule peers.

Saw John Morley, who was not very happy about Irish finance, and promised to try and get it postponed over to-morrow. Fowler recommended England keeping Excise, Customs, and Income Tax, which I think absurd. Sir William Harcourt, he agreed, was doing what he could to break up and destroy the Bill. Were they to meet Parliament without a Home Rule Bill and be turned out at once?

Then about Egypt, if Rosebery stuck to his agent, Cromer, the Government would break up inevitably.

What a funny thing Government is!

I have no doubt, nor has John Morley, that Alfred Milner will never be consulted on the crisis that has arisen in Egypt.

A long and interesting talk with E. T. Cook about Mr. Gladstone. Bryce and A. Morley came in after the Cabinet, and said that, as usual, there was a woman at the bottom of the trouble in Khedivial quarters.

*From Miss Margot Tennant (afterwards Mrs. Asquith)*

EASTON GREY, MALMESBURY, *January 18, 1893.*

DEAREST SIR ALGY,—I am disturbed about Egypt, and do *hope* the Government will back Cromer, *whatever* he proposes, as a man on the spot is much better able to judge of the dramatic effect of an even exaggerated measure. The Cabinet will say he has lost his head if he proposes measures of a good deal of violence, but I am sure he will be right.

The Khedive's action will be most unpopular with the natives.

JANUARY 18.—Mr. Waddington had been with Rosebery protesting<sup>1</sup> about the high-handedness of England in Egypt.

He said "we have only made a protest." Rosebery

<sup>1</sup> These were the days of the nominal "Dual Control."

was very much amused at Harcourt's change of front, saying on Tuesday that this was an intrigue of France and Russia, and on Wednesday that he had always thought the idea of such an intrigue ridiculous.

I tried to get Rosebery to dine to-morrow, but he said he had never yet dined out since Lady Rosebery died ; on my telling him, however, it was Lady Granville's first dinner since her husband's death, he softened, till he recollected that he had promised to take his boys to the play before their first going to school.

Cromer had not increased his reputation either with Mr. Gladstone or with Lord Rosebery.

He is so like his brother Revelstoke that it appears that he has been influenced by him.

A good deal of broken talk on Irish finance.

JANUARY 19.—I was caught by Harcourt, who has a new idea of Irish finance, i.e. collecting all the revenue and giving £600,000 to Ireland. It might work for Customs and Excise, but not for stamps and taxes. A long talk on these lines with Mr. Gladstone, I contending that the Irish nation were the best taxpayers in the world, but that they would require some inducement or reward to make the Government and the people keen about collecting moneys for the English Exchequer. Excise might be possible, but not Income Tax. Mr. Gladstone said all Whig finance was bad. Did he not except Althorp ?<sup>1</sup> Only as following Pitt and not originating anything.

I asked him if Harcourt had the wish to abolish the Inhabited House Duty—the best weapon in the armoury of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I saw a very good letter of Harcourt's to Chamberlain, on the question of his seat, i.e. where he was to sit, in the House of Commons.

It was discussed who was to write the nightly letter to the Queen ? I said W. Harcourt. But both J. Morley and Spencer think he would be dangerous on the Home Rule Bill, on which he was not really keen. It was settled, however, that it should be written by him, Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Althorp (afterwards 3rd Earl Spencer), Chancellor of the Exchequer 1830-4.

Gladstone himself keeping his right to correspond when he thought fit.

Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Robert Meade, Lady Granville, Bertram Currie, and A. Hichens dined with us. Mr. Gladstone in splendid form, talking mainly on the brutal architecture of London; when we employed an Italian architect (Barry) to build a Gothic building, and a Gothic architect (Scott) to build a Palladian building such as the new offices. He then talked music with Andrew Hichens, who was delighted with his knowledge of all the musical terms, which were Hebrew to me.

When Brougham made a fierce onslaught on Lord Melbourne for not making him Lord Chancellor, Lord Melbourne said, "the House will see how strong the reason must have been for our not doing so."

JANUARY 20.—Egyptian troubles to the fore. Cromer asking for more troops.

Mr. Gladstone said to Harcourt that they might as well ask him to put a torch to Westminster Abbey as to send more troops to Egypt. Loulou told me this; also that his father and John Morley were equally strong—and so a stormy Cabinet was expected.

While Loulou was talking, Rosebery came into my room to write a telegram to Cromer, saying: "No objection to more troops, but not a favourable time for announcement." Saying that nothing could have been milder or more useful than Harcourt, which seemed to surprise Loulou.

Arnold Morley only came in for tea; he said that they had had a long discussion, but nothing serious, except a murmur from Lord Rosebery, who said this was only tiding over matters, etc., etc., etc. This was cleverly turned aside by Herschell—but what does it matter when we are only living from hand to mouth?

Lady Granville told us last night that Herschell has denied that Lord Cottenham was Lord Chancellor when Her Majesty came to the throne, and that she had offered to bet sixpence she was right, as of course she was.

Loulou came in again, saying his father said that Rosebery nearly resigned at the beginning of the Cabinet

and John Morley was very strong over the word "propitious" as to time.

Loulou told his father that Rosebery's saying that he was most useful made him think he was ill.

JANUARY 21.—Telegrams from Her Majesty as to Egypt; referring to Gordon—humiliation, etc., etc.

At four o'clock Francis Villiers came into my room in Downing Street, saying we were in the midst of a crisis again; that Cromer was very strong in asking for an increase to the garrison; that if it was not granted, probably he would resign, and that would mean that Lord Rosebery would too. He referred to the two last telegrams from Cromer, intimating that the private ones were more serious. I said I would do what I could, and wrote to Spencer, who was upstairs on a Committee of the Cabinet on the Home Rule Bill, to come and see me. He and John Morley came into my room together, so I told them, with some reserve, of the crisis we were in. I argued with John Morley that he might, consistently with his evacuation ideas and utterances, allow an increase to meet the crisis. That all Cromer's messages tended to evacuation afterwards. An Egyptian cry with Egypt for the Egyptians—an army well trained and disciplined—and was it worth while to throw up Home Rule for this? He admitted that Rosebery's going on this question would destroy the Government; but he could not consent to an additional regiment, because he distrusted Cromer. I contended that however that might be, he was bound to recall him or support him at the moment of danger. That having sent the regiment, he might call in the Powers. He said he might be persuaded to give way; but that in that case he could not accept my argument of future evacuation, but must confess himself as wrong and go in for the inevitable occupation.

After a long talk, and with Spencer's help, he got in a better frame of mind, and I have great hopes of him, for he promised to see Herschell, and begged me to see Asquith—which he would not have done had he not to a certain extent acquiesced in my views. He and Spencer

both thanked me for speaking to them, which they said was most useful.

6.30.—An angry letter from the Queen. I read the letter and Cromer's telegrams to Mr. Gladstone. I told him I thought the danger was real, and that he would have to acquiesce. I used my former argument, and the Sepoy argument, which he did not allow. I asked him to send word to C. Bannerman to see what troops on the way to or from India were to be passing Egypt.

I said C. Bannerman was prepared, and a minute later he wrote accordingly to C. Bannerman.

He gave me his letter to the Queen to criticize, and added or altered two or three points as I suggested.

Very late at work, but dined with Bryce to meet Mr. Gladstone and Blake,<sup>1</sup> who gave me a good impression. He hoped to win Meath, and to get Davitt, who was very poor, to sit for O'Brien's seat.

SECRET

*From Hon. Francis Villiers*

FOREIGN OFFICE, *January 21.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Many thanks for your note. I could only telegraph to Cromer in my own name, and I hesitate to do so, unless you think it absolutely necessary.

Lord Rosebery could not suggest to Cromer a strong message with regard to danger, and a more official inquiry as to the facts on this point might elicit an unsatisfactory answer. Besides, I have just heard from Lord R. that he has written from the "Durdans" to Mr. Gladstone, probably in very clear terms, so that I am afraid of making a mess by running a fresh line. Surely what Cromer says about the Egyptian Army and Police, their feelings and their possession of field artillery, together with the opinion he expressed about our force being inadequate in case of action being necessary, is an example for anybody.

Yours sincerely, F. H. VILLIERS.

JANUARY 22.—Early to Downing Street. A strong telegram from Cromer. Mr. Gladstone disturbed. I

<sup>1</sup> A Canadian, an ardent advocate of Home Rule for Ireland.



again impressed on him that he must take Cromer's and the Commander-in-Chief's views on the spot, as he was there. He showed me the Queen's Speech of 1883, which, he said, was the Magna Charta of Egypt, though I did not see much in it.

Saw Spencer, and persuaded him to walk home with me and to get Bannerman. He said he would. After chapel, back to Downing Street, where they both came.

There was a regiment which was to be detained at Suez.

Another talk with Mr. Gladstone, who was delighted with Spencer and C. Bannerman. So all looks well.

To see Ripon, ill in bed, and had a long talk with him, and found him more against sending troops than I expected. However, our long conversation ended by saying he would consent to any amount of troops, provided a simultaneous note was sent to the Powers.

Francis Villiers, whom I went to see, said, on this point, there would be no difficulty. He showed me some very alarmist telegrams, confidential from Cromer.

Rosebery hated interference in his own department, and complained that Mr. Gladstone never said "all right" to anything—always making some amendment in every draft.

I had previously told Mr. Gladstone that half these troubles might be avoided by personal, instead of written intercourse; he was inclined to agree, but said Rosebery had chosen this way, and that he was very different from Granville and Clarendon. Mr. Gladstone said his axiom was that men, not measures, were the difficulties of Cabinets.

F. Villiers said it would be no use at present urging interviews on Rosebery.

JANUARY 23.—Things seem quieting down.

Saw Sir W. Harcourt, who was mild and gloomy. Loulou said he would be calm at the Cabinet.

Again saw F. Villiers, who said he had told Rosebery what I said; and with regard to Ripon's objection he had taken a draft reference to the Powers into the Cabinet with him.

Lord Rosebery came into my room and said things had

passed off well at the Cabinet, and that the change of views of Mr. Gladstone and Harcourt was wonderful. Cromer had no doubt lost his head, but my view was right that he must be supported.

Cabinet again to-day on Irish Bill. E. Ponsonby came and saw Edward Marjoribanks and Horace as to the arrangements for the admission of strangers to the House of Commons.

Mrs. Gaskell came to tea, and Spencer, John Morley, Ripon, and Bryce came too, all but the last waiting a long time talking.

Ripon said I ought to be happy at getting my way on the question of troops in Egypt.

Mr. Gladstone asked me to criticize freely his letter to the Queen, which I really thought temperate and excellent.

I congratulated him on the question of Irish finance being settled on the basis which I had always wished for, and he admitted this plan was the simplest !

OSBORNE, *January 22, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Buckhounds can keep. Best suggestion we have had is "Send them to Ireland instead of a Home Rule Act. The Irish would prefer them."

Yes, I daresay you have your hands full.

I am sorry Mr. G. referred to the French bullying. It made H.M. very wrath that we should be afraid of doing what we think right because the French threaten us. I don't see what they have to do with it whether we have three battalions there or five battalions.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

(The appeal noted above from Mr., afterwards Sir Edward, Cook to Sir Algernon as to the best man to write a day of a Prime Minister's life was responded to by Sir Algernon's undertaking the article himself. Hence the following :)

6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, W.C., *January 23, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR,—In accordance with my promise, I now enclose a proof of the article on the Prime Minister's Day,

which I propose to publish. As you will see, there is very little in it which is not yours ; and I hope that in revising the proof you will be as merciful as you can to your offspring.

I shall take the further liberty in the course of a day or two of sending you the rough draft of a paragraph about Mr. Gladstone's health, which I should like to insert, with such additions or alterations as may occur to you, in my first number.

Yours very faithfully, E. T. Cook.

6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, W.C., *January 24, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I do hope I am not troubling you too much. But in case you are finding time to look over the proof of the article on the Prime Minister, I send two insertions which I propose to make.

Of course the chief criticism which will occur to everyone who knows is that the part of Hamlet is omitted by the omission of any reference to the services which you render to Mr. Gladstone. But this omission I propose to supply in another part of the paper, by appending to some notes on Mr. Gladstone's health a reference to yourself and his secretaries. I shall take Alfred Milner's paragraph and rewrite it to the same effect, if you do not disapprove.

Yours very faithfully, E. T. Cook.

## A CABINET MINISTER'S DAY

### I.—THE PRIME MINISTER

The Kings of England are the Cabinet Ministers. The Queen reigns ; her Ministers govern. Accounts, more or less apocryphal, have often been given of a day in the life of Her Majesty. Treatises also, more or less austere, have often been published on the working of the departments. But we are not aware that any attempt has been made to bring home to the English citizen the personal machinery of government, and the way in which his rulers live their public lives. To supply this omission is the object of the present series of articles, which we begin this evening by

a brief description of a day in the public life of Mr. Gladstone.

The Prime Minister has nothing to do. The Prime Minister has everything to do. These statements are contradictory; yet both are true. Departmentally the First Minister of the Crown and the head of the Government has nothing to do. The Prime Minister is a minister, as the French say, "without portfolio." As everybody knows, there is in the strict language of constitutional law no such thing as "The Cabinet," and neither is there any such person as "The Prime Minister." Until the other day, his only official title was derived from another office, the Prime Minister being always First Lord of the Treasury. In 1887 that great constitutional innovator, the leader of the "Constitutional Party," took away from the office of the Prime Minister even that which it had, conferring upon one of his subordinates the office of First Lord, and left himself as First Minister, with nothing even to pretend to do, so far as departmental work in that capacity was concerned. Mr. Gladstone has, of course, returned to the regular paths of the Constitution, and is First Lord as well as First Minister. But the First Lord of the Treasury has nothing to do with the Treasury. His presidency is merely nominal, the real headship being in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The place would, however, so far as the theory of it goes, have appealed strongly to Mr. Weller, for though there is nothing to do, there is plenty to give. The First Lord of the Treasury is the dispenser of Church patronage. Upon some ministers this dispensation sits heavily, upon others lightly. Lord Palmerston is said to have placed his ecclesiastical patronage in the hands of Lord Shaftesbury. Lord Salisbury made it over with the First Lordship to Mr. W. H. Smith. With Mr. Gladstone the distribution of Church patronage has always been one of the chief cares of office. Affairs of State never trouble him. He can divert his thoughts from them at will, and in times of the greatest storm and stress he can sleep the sleep of the careless. Probably the only duties of office which ever keep him awake o' nights are the distribution of

Cabinet seats and appointments to clerical preferments. The other day, when he made the first important appointment of his fourth Premiership, the papers said that "nothing was known of the new dean." Nothing was known to the papers, perhaps; but Mr. Gladstone has never yet appointed any cleric to anything without knowing everything about him. In the case of some Ministers, therefore, the patronage attached to the First Lordship of the Treasury may give the Prime Minister something to do. But for the rest he has, as First Lord, nothing to do.

Yet, at the same time, he has everything to do. For, in the first place, though unknown to the theory of constitution, the Prime Minister looms large in the eyes of the public. This means an enormous letter-bag to deal with, which is the first task of the Prime Minister's day. Even when he was in Opposition, it was said of Mr. Gladstone's post-bag that it contained the most incongruous medley of important and frivolous letters which have ever come together in the correspondence of a single man. When he is in office, the bag is swollen to yet larger proportions with even stranger contents. We should not like to say how many letters are delivered in Downing Street during the course of the day; but if Carlyle were right, that the population of these Islands were mostly fools, the morning delivery in Downing Street must be counted in millions, for it is quite certain that every fool in the country makes a point of writing once during each administration to the Prime Minister. Let us leave the fool to his folly, and not pry into the secrets of the sieve which a Prime Minister's private secretaries apply to his correspondence. But even after the foolish and impertinent letters have been weeded out, the mass of correspondence remaining to be dealt with is very large. At one time Mr. Gladstone was conscientious almost to absurdity in answering such letters. "I suppose I had better write to so-and-so, and say such-and-such," said a private secretary once who was new to the work and to the man. "Oh no," replied Mr. Gladstone, aghast at the well-meant assumption, "I think I must deal with that myself." But this was many

years ago. At the present time Mr. Gladstone probably follows the practice of other ministers and leaves a large portion of his correspondence to be dealt with of their own motion by his private secretaries. Some letters, however, there are sure to be every day—letters from important ministers or on confidential business, or perhaps from the Court—which must be answered by the Prime Minister himself, and by his own hand.

It is noon, perhaps, before he has ploughed through this, the first task of the day, and now a call from the Patronage Secretary—better known as Chief Whip—reminds him of a second layer of duties. He is a leader of a party as well as First Minister of the Crown, and there are urgent matters of party business which can brook delay no more than affairs of State. How the Queen's Government is to be carried on is one side of the problem of rule ; to keep together the party is another. And the Whip wants to consult his leader about that delicate matter—let us say, of selecting the mover and seconder of the Address. What interests or localities are best worth the flattery ? Or it may be that some difficulty has arisen over a by-election ; and the Prime Minister must detach himself for a while from problems of Imperial policy to consider the pros and cons of party expediency in Little Pedlington.

The Patronage Secretary departs in due course, and the party is postponed for the time to the State. By a long course of development the Prime Minister of modern times has established supreme authority over his colleagues. He is head of the executive ; and his headship, if he chooses, is a very real and permeating one. The work of a Prime Minister is, indeed, very much what he chooses to make it. Lord Beaconsfield, as is well known, had no love for detail, and accordingly in things indifferent to him used to give his colleagues their heads. An indiscreet diarist has recorded that he could never even remember whether it was W. H. Smith or H. W., and always forgot that the present Lord Cross was Sir Richard. Of Lord Salisbury, too, at one time it used to be said that the only objection to his Ministry was that it had no Prime

Minister. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, has the reputation of being an autocrat, and for good or evil his hand was heavy for many years on every field alike of administration and of policy. Mr. Gladstone's grasp is still as keen as it ever was ; but probably it is somewhat less pervading. It is difficult to be an octopus at eighty-three. It may, however, be safely said of the present Prime Minister, and of the Prime Minister in general, that no great appointment (however much it may technically be in the gift of a Secretary of State) is ever made, except by him or with his concurrence, and that no decision of first-rate importance is taken in any of the departments until he has been consulted. Here, for instance, is Lord Rosebery, let us say, at the door in Downing Street. He has walked over across the road from the Foreign Office to consult the Prime Minister on the latest news from Uganda or Morocco or Egypt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has an even shorter step to take ; which is some saving of time, for no vital decision can be taken in Treasury business without first taking the Prime Minister's pleasure. Is the matter of great importance or complexity ? Then, " I think," the Prime Minister will say, " we had better send for Sir Reginald Welby." Does the reader wonder why ? It is not unlikely ; for few of us probably know how much of the real power in the State is vested in the permanent secretary of the Treasury. There are some among those who know who say that Sir Reginald Welby is easily the most powerful man in the British Empire. If we exclude the power of initiative in matters of high policy, they are probably not far wrong. But into the colloquies between the Head of the Government of the day and the Head of the Permanent Civil Service—the government of all days, the government which is and was and is to come, who shall dare to pry ? And, besides, it is two o'clock by now, the Prime Minister's luncheon hour, and those who happen to be with him will probably sit down to table with him. Perhaps they will talk business. Perhaps they will talk mediæval universities. If any difficult question arises in that field, Mr. Gladstone's friend, Lord Acton—the Prime

Minister's ultimate referee, they say—is very likely no further off than the Athenæum, and he will settle that for them. Or is the crux of some point in the classics—some quotation to be traced to its source, or some knotty point of scholarship which even Mr. Gladstone cannot solve. Even so the resources of Government are not exhausted; for is there not Sir Arthur Godley at the India Office, and it must be an insoluble problem indeed which his ever ripe scholarship cannot answer in a trice.

But there is little time enough in a Prime Minister's day for such pleasant halting-places—*diverticula anedena* does not Livy call them? For in these difficult times it is likely as not any day that a Cabinet is fixed for three. The Cabinet Council is the holy of holies of the British Constitution, and as Mr. Bagehot long ago regretted, no description of it at once graphic and authentic has ever been given. It has, indeed, been said that at the end of the Cabinet which agreed to propose a fixed duty on corn, Lord Melbourne put his back to the door and said, "Now is it to lower the price of corn or isn't it? It is not much matter which we say; but mind, we must all say *the same*." This is a graphic description enough; but we are not aware that its authenticity has ever been guaranteed. Some say that the present Cabinet is homogeneous, others that it is not. Take it either way, the hours of the Prime Minister's day, spent in presiding over the Cabinet deliberations, must be laborious and exacting. Either he has to lay down the law unceasingly, for his "items" to say ditto to, or he has to compose their incessant and internecine feuds.

Nor when the Cabinet is over is the Prime Minister's task in the business at an end. The Sovereign no longer presides in person, but is still present in spirit; and it is the Prime Minister's task at the end of each meeting to present his humble duty to Her Majesty, and inform the Queen of what has passed. These letters, like the Prime Minister's daily reports from Parliament, must of course be in his own hand.

It is not always a Cabinet day. But the days without a Cabinet are in times of political pressure no less laborious;



for are there not committees of the Cabinet to meet, ministers to consult, officials to pump, and representatives of this interest or of that to square? In this department of his work Mr. Gladstone spares neither himself nor others. "Good heavens, good heavens!" said a well-known official (though not quite in those gentle words), as he wiped the perspiration from his forehead, and sank exhausted into his chair. "Good heavens, there is nothing of me left!" "Why," asked his friend, "what have you been doing?" "Talking business with Mr. Gladstone for an hour." In his power of tearing the heart out of the most complicated subject, of putting the most searching questions, and bringing a remorseless memory to bear upon the smallest details, Mr. Gladstone has no rival among modern ministers. Futile is the attempt to put him off with any general information or round figures. "Come, let us see how that is," Mr. Gladstone will say, and the heart of the luckless official who has contented himself with some rough estimate or not very precise information quails within him. But if Mr. Gladstone is the most exacting he is also the most indulgent and the most patient of ministers. All officials know the type of minister who listens with the ear but not with the head, and who—with his watch in his hand—says, "Oh no; there is no hurry. I can give you five minutes more." The type is not uncommon; for the power of concentration is rare. Lord Randolph Churchill, they say, is the one minister of modern times who in this respect—as, indeed, in some others—most resembled Mr. Gladstone. In another kind of interview—the interviews with hesitating colleagues or wavering partisans, such as take up no small portion of a Prime Minister's day—Mr. Gladstone's gifts are of a somewhat different order. He has little of the arts of the diplomatist. He does not wheedle; he overwhelms. Strength of character, force of argument, transparent honesty of purpose, and, above all, intensity of enthusiastic conviction, are the weapons by which Mr. Gladstone convinces in counsel. The amount of energy, and even of rhetorical skill, which Mr. Gladstone will throw into these colloquies is often prodigious. "What

speeches we shall have in the House!" said one of his colleagues a few years ago after an hour's conversation—if that is the right word—with his chief on some doubtful point in an important Bill. When the speeches in the House were delivered, they were magnificent efforts; "but not so fine," said Mr. Gladstone's colleague, "as those which he delivered to me—in private."

Such, in brief outline, is a day in the life of the Prime Minister as chief of the executive. But if he happens also to be Leader of the House of Commons, he has many more hours of work before him in the Legislature. Lord Salisbury, of course, escaped this toil, and that was why he was able to combine the duties of Foreign Secretary with those of Prime Minister without entirely breaking down under the strain. It is sincerely to be hoped that means will be devised for relieving Mr. Gladstone of some portion of it also. In the case of a Prime Minister over eighty, ought not an eight-hours day to suffice?

#### PRIVATE

COLONIAL OFFICE, *January 25, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I am going to try whether I can get Brassey to accept New South Wales. He is the ideal man for the post. But if you think that Mr. G. would really object, let me know and I will hold my hand. I shall do nothing before to-morrow.

Yours ever, RIPON.

JANUARY 26.—There came a very moderately expressed protest from Waddington as to increase of our forces in Egypt.

Portal says Uganda report cannot reach England till September.

A talk to Ripon about the ignorance of Foreign Affairs in which the Cabinet were kept, which was never the case in former Cabinets. Could I help?

6 GROSVENOR PLACE, S.W., *January 27, 1893.*

DEAR SIR A. WEST,—I will do my best with H.M. on the subject of the Scotch Church, and fulfil if I can Har-

court's self-denying ordinance. I have already at Balmoral had it out with H.M. on the subject, and I am not much afraid. You see, I approach the subject from within the Tabernacle, and not from without as all you Southrons do.

Yours very truly, H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

JANUARY 30.—I had luncheon at 11 Downing Street, and then with Edward Marjoribanks, Lord Vernon, and Loulou to a presentation of plate to Loulou from the Home Counties Liberal Association, when he made a perfectly excellent speech.

The Queen's Speech was very short, and very full of matter.

Dined at the Reform Club with Armitstead, and to Downing Street and Devonshire House parties afterwards, at the latter of which I had a talk with R. Churchill, who was very cordial, saying he was preaching moderation and concession to his party; and that he deprecated the amendments to Address proposed by Chamberlain: That it was foolish to throw obstacles in the way of the Home Rule Bill being brought forward.

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## CHAPTER IX

1893

### THE NEW SESSION

FEBRUARY 1, 1893.—Saw Randolph Churchill, who told me he was going to sit on the front Opposition Bench, as it was wished. I said he might console himself by sitting next to Goschen. He feared that Chamberlain would boss the show—but thought A. Balfour would be idle. As Boulanger said that if he got into power “J’aurais des noces,” so Arthur Balfour would have his golf—he would not be active.

He thought Mr. Gladstone would get his Home Rule Bill through the House, and then it would be thrown out by an overwhelming vote in the House of Lords; Mr. Gladstone should then retire. It would be illogical in the Lords to allow the Bill to go into Committee, as they contended that it should not be entertained in any shape.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *February 6, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Carrington tells me Monkswell would like N.S.W.

May I offer it to him? He would do very well.

I ask as he is a Lord-in-Waiting. I do not like to say anything to him without Mr. Gladstone’s consent.

Yours ever, RIPON.

*From Dr. Maclagan, the Archbishop of York*

THE ATHENÆUM, PALL MALL, *February 3, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I am anxious to obtain Mr. Gladstone’s signature for the enclosed Memorial.

He knows the man and the value of his work, and if you can find a favourable moment when he has a pen in his hand, I have no doubt he would sign it.

He attended one of Dr. Kinns' lectures not long ago—as you will see by enclosed, which please return to me along with the Memorial, as Dr. Kinns greatly values it.

I shall be here till to-morrow at 2, when I return to Bishopthorpe, York.

Yours very truly, WILLIAM EBOR.

FEBRUARY 4.—A long talk with Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone on the Uganda business.

A letter from Rosebery wondering how the difficulty had arisen, since the instructions to G. Portal had been so clear; but it turned out that these instructions had never been circulated, by some blunder of the Foreign Office, and Lord Salisbury's letter had been also, by some mistake, left out of the papers to be presented to Parliament on Monday. I got Francis Villiers over to remedy it.

FEBRUARY 6.—With Rosebery discussed this Uganda question and draft to Cromer. He thought Mr. Gladstone anxious and worn. No wonder!

FEBRUARY 7.—A talk with Ripon about New South Wales—R. Duff, Hayter, Monkswell—settled nothing, and a long talk with Kimberley, who thought that our majority was dwindling, as majorities always do and always must. We had put all the best things in the Queen's Speech we could; but each thing only pleased certain sections. We had not got, and could not get, anything which stirred the country; and as each thing was passed, more was naturally required. Ripon thought sharing rates and payment to Members the things needful.

A long talk with Rosebery, who was distressed at Mr. Gladstone's appearance. History had never shown so heroic a courage as a man at his age struggling for a thing he could not see consummated. Mr. Gladstone's devotion very touching, but very sad.

FEBRUARY 8.—Mr. Gladstone not well; very full of Home Rule speech, as (likening great things to small) I was of mine about my picture,<sup>1</sup> of which I told him. He said he had always had the highest admiration of the

<sup>1</sup> At the Board of Inland Revenue, of which Sir Algernon had been Chairman.

Department, and was convinced that both in spirit and action it represented the ideal of a public department.

Saw Dr. Andrew Clark, who said Mr. Gladstone's attack was very slight, but it had got on his brain unduly.

Dined at Mansion House and made a speech.

Rosebery said it would have moved an exciseman to tears—which was a great success.

(Sir Algernon has been very scrupulous—perhaps a little over-scrupulous—in excising from his diary all passages of what he regarded as having only a family interest. The two following letters are nearly the only reference to the death of a brother to whom he was devotedly attached :)

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W., *February 11, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Prince of Wales has been much shocked at seeing the announcement of the sudden death of your poor brother, and he desires me to write and offer you his very sincere sympathy and condolences.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL.

MY DEAR WEST,—We were much disappointed as well as concerned to learn the fatal issue of your brother's illness. He will doubtless be greatly missed; and we do not fail to remember how frequently you have in these recent years been called upon to bow to the will of God manifested in these privations, which thin the ranks around us as we advance in life and gradually prepare us for our own transplantation. I trouble you with these lines in order to beg that you will estimate liberally the time during which this event may require you to be absent from Downing Street. Valuable as your visits are to me, I ought not to forget that even in your absence I am better off than most men.

After a brilliant summerlike morning now we have passed into an afternoon thoroughly worthy of London. But the place is a great tonic.

Believe me always, most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

*From the Deputy Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue  
who had recently retired*

27 Highbury Grove, London, N., February 10, 1893.

MY DEAR WEST,—I write just a line to express my gratification on reading the *Times* account of the meeting of your old friends in Somerset House on Wednesday afternoon.

I have also heard that Herkomer's picture does you justice at least, and is considered satisfactory—all which is good news to me.

I liked your speech, which was true, hearty, and generous to your old department; in fact, your speech would have been perfect if you had not drawn my name into it; yet I should be the most ungrateful wretch if I did not say that I deeply felt this last stroke of kindness.

I am getting better and have tried to go out once or twice, but my doctor won't have any more at present until the weather is warm, so I must exercise patience.

Ever yours most sincerely, ADAM YOUNG.

FEBRUARY 12.—To Downing Street. A little talk with Mrs. Gladstone.

FEBRUARY 13.—Mr. Gladstone had slept very badly, but was quite quiet—reading a book on his sofa, till John Morley came. There had been an alteration in the financial part of the Irish Bill, made by John Morley, with Mr. Gladstone's approval, but not with that of Sir W. Harcourt, who made a frightful row, and wrote a letter which John Morley said could only have been written on such an occasion and time by Brougham. Sir William Harcourt came and blew off steam with me. And then I tried hard to get John Morley to leave the words out, but he was very firm, and would only consent to my underlining the words and putting a ? by them.

Went down at 3 to the House.

Mr. Gladstone rose amid cheers—the whole of his supporters rising—at 3.45. A quarter of an hour very fine, in an impressive, but not loud voice. Two hours' explanation nearly, and a quarter of an hour's peroration—

fine, and his voice good, though low throughout. What an effort for a man of 83 !!!

FEBRUARY 14.—Early to Spencer to warn him about Sir W. Harcourt's and John Morley's row. To Mr. Gladstone and begged him to send for John Morley to try and pacify him, as he was not in the right. Mr. Gladstone did so. He had slept seven hours on end.

Saw Sir W. Harcourt, and asked him, for Mr. Gladstone's sake, to be quiet and mild, which he kindly said he would be, and was.

To my brother Richard's funeral service at Paddington.<sup>1</sup> A splendid result of twenty years' devotion: church, choir, clergy, sisterhood, all *made* by him. On with Henry, Horace, and Reg. to Willesden Church, where we left him in peace. Pray God we may all follow his good example!

Saw Ripon, and heard that the Cabinet had passed off quietly, and Harcourt had been very mild.

FEBRUARY 15.—Nothing of great importance.

People seemed pleased with Home Rule Bill. To City. And in evening a more cheerful telegram from Cromer about Egyptian affairs.

A letter from John Morley, proposing to show Bill to Dillon, Sexton, and Blake. Mr. Gladstone wisely thought not.

FEBRUARY 16.—A long letter morning.

Then a letter from Harcourt on his Budget and Irish finance—objecting to the words "Imperial purposes," which would prevent his getting anything out of Ireland in the case of a heavy deficit. John Morley wanted to retain the words and suggested that I should go to Sir W. Harcourt, which I did. He was calm and dignified, and said, if the alteration was not made, he should resign. Mr. Gladstone suggested a compromise "for purposes not exclusively British."

To John Morley with Welby. Hopes a compromise will be arrived at.

Cabinet suddenly summoned at 2.30 to settle this, and

<sup>1</sup> The Reverend Richard Temple West, D.D., Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington.



this is the quiet day I anticipated, running about from 11 till 3. Another "Armageddon."

House of Commons. Wolmer behaved infamously. "As might be expected," said Harcourt, "from his early training."

Randolph very nervous, and physically weak, but made some good fighting points.

Irish M.P.s coming in and out, and changing majority into a minority every week, etc. Strong and wrong about Ulster. A rowdy Cabinet, everybody fighting for over an hour, waiting for Mr. Gladstone.

FEBRUARY 17.—Arnold Morley was deputed to see Sexton, as John Morley refused.

The chasm was bridged over by all words general and Imperial<sup>1</sup> being omitted from the Bill.

How unsympathetic Sir William Harcourt and John Morley are to each other!

Saw Rosebery, and had a long talk on the situation with him. Another "Armageddon." He says he does not see why he should attend any more Cabinets, as, whenever he spoke, Mr. Gladstone told him not to speak.

He thought Randolph Churchill a failure; and Mr. Gladstone's pulverization of Wolmer the best and finest thing he ever heard.

Saw Ripon, and urged on him R. Duff for New South Wales. He gave me an amusing description of last night's noisy Cabinet.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W., *February 14, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Prince of Wales desires me to thank you and to say that he would very much like to have explanatory notes of the Home Rule Bill.

I hope that Mr. Gladstone is not suffering in any way from the exhausting task he had to perform yesterday.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., *February 20, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I am a little in doubt whether Lord Northbourne would be able to give attendance in the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "Imperial purposes," v. above, and Harcourt's objection.

House of Lords, as I have heard that his wife's health prevents her from living in London. Might it not be well to sound him before mentioning his name to the Queen?

Perhaps, however, this has been done.

I need not say that I shall be most glad if he can undertake the office. Yours very truly, KIMBERLEY.

FEBRUARY 20.—There was a quieter feeling about the Home Rule Bill. People seem to be coming round to the opinion that it will pass the House of Commons.

FEBRUARY 21.—I had a long talk with Mr. Gladstone on Lord Aberdeen's life, and when he (Mr. Gladstone) first became favourable to Extension of the Franchise—he thought it was before 1856, but I think A. Gordon<sup>1</sup> found that it was not so.

Then as to the Neapolitan prisoners.<sup>2</sup> He said he ought to have got Lord Aberdeen's permission before bringing it before Parliament; but he was not satisfied at leaving it to diplomatic representations, which did no good.

I suggested a popular account of the Home Rule Bill, instancing the case of Mr. Hoskins, a leading director in Guinness' brewery, as thinking the Irish Parliament would increase Excise duties.

"Have they not Moses and the Prophets?" was what he virtually said. "Have they not got the Bill and my speech?" and I had difficulty in persuading him that everybody did not read either. However, an account is to be written by Hunter. How peculiar is the seriousness with which he views everything, and not only views it himself, but the seriousness he imparts to everybody!

Saw Kimberley and A. Godley as to Northbourne being Lord-in-Waiting.

Mr. Gladstone went to Windsor.

FEBRUARY 22.—Mr. Gladstone, in a pouring day, came back from Windsor, and wrote to Northbourne, offering him Lordship-in-Waiting.

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Gordon, Lord Stanmore, who wrote the life of his father, the 4th Earl of Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> Members of the *Unità Italiana* Society, imprisoned by the then Bourbon Government of Naples in conditions which Mr. Gladstone had fiercely denounced.

FEBRUARY 23.—I, with difficulty, persuaded Acland to see Mr. Gladstone, which he was very frightened at doing, but he was quite delighted at his talk, and I improved the occasion about the advantage of little informal meetings of Ministers. He told me he never opened his lips at the Cabinets, which accounts for Sir W. Harcourt telling Edward Marjoribanks that he had disappointed him.

R. Duff goes to New South Wales.

Welsh Suspension Bill passed with a majority of 56.

FEBRUARY 24.—Mr. Gladstone elated by last night's division. We must now look to by-elections.

Saw J. Tennant and talked about Banffshire.

H. Lawson won Gloucestershire Division<sup>1</sup> by 246. Splendid!

Mr. Gladstone agreed with me that Balfour would have to keep his eyes open if he did not wish Randolph Churchill to supplant him, and his inclinations and tastes were towards idleness.

(From Canon Carter, who had asked for some data for compiling a memoir of Sir Algernon's brother:)

CLEWER, *February 23.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—Allow me to thank you for your most kind response to my request. I am specially thankful for all you have so fully said, and which corresponds with what I have ever thought of your dear brother.

I suppose from your not alluding to his change from the Law to Holy Orders, that there was nothing very special about it, only a natural following his higher instincts.

Do not think of writing again if there is nothing more particular.

I am thinking what may be done. I fancy something of this kind: "R. T. West, his Character and his Work." Not a life. There are no letters, and so a want of personal matter; but there is a good deal that brings out the

<sup>1</sup> East Gloucestershire (present Lord Burnham).

beauty and strength of his character and of his work ; that is ample matter, of course.

Thanking you for your kind reply, believe me,

Very sincerely yours, T. C. CARTER.

P.S.—I have a grateful remembrance of having met you at breakfast in his room.

FEBRUARY 27.—I proposed that Mr. Gladstone should give a dinner to the Duke of York, to which Mr. Gladstone agreed ; but Francis Knollys said he was going away on Saturday. He said Society and Lord Londonderry and Co. were getting very violent over the Home Rule Bill. Lord Salisbury going to Belfast, was very wicked.

FEBRUARY 28.—As I was walking to Downing Street I met Bertram Currie, who hoped Mr. Gladstone would speak on Bimetallism, which he lightly consented to do if the chance came before dinner. Bertram Currie said Goschen was wobbly, and would probably throw him over. Harcourt said he was sure he was not to be trusted.

MARCH 1.—Mr. Gladstone made a great speech on Bimetallism and smashed it up ; majority 81. Was in wonderful spirits, as he said he knew little about its late aspects ; was pleased at Randolph's voting with him ; said Chamberlain was most effusive. Goschen did not know what he was, nor how to conduct an Opposition. The real type of how an Opposition should be conducted was in 1835 to 1841.

Lord J. Russell spoke of the Irish as a "miserable monopolizing minority" in a speech which Charles Buller said combined all that was good in debate : it was true, offensive, and alliterative.

MARCH 2.—"It is odd," said Mr. Gladstone, "how rarely people can fairly describe events in which they themselves are concerned." Arthur Gordon had given to his father the credit of having stopped Mr. Gladstone from appealing first to Parliament on the Neapolitan prisoners, whereas it was Mr. Gladstone's first object to get Lord Aberdeen's intercession diplomatically—"though I don't say, if he had refused, that I should have let the matter drop there."

To see Randolph, who told me he was not taken into the confidence of his party, but he thought he could carry now a small section of it. Was surprised at Borthwick's going with him last night, but happily Salisbury had offended him by refusing to make him a peer. Was furious at the folly of issuing a four-lined whip on Bimetallism—told Gordon so, who had written him three pages of weak explanation.

Dined, after the Clare Co. incident, in the House of Commons, with Mr. Gladstone and John Morley, who said the state of moonlighting there was very bad. Acton and Rendel were also there. Talking of Mansion House dinners, Mr. Gladstone said he remembered the First Lord of the Admiralty returning thanks at one end of the table for the Navy, and Sir J. Campbell at the same time, at another end of the table, for the Law. Alderson said it would have been all right if you put a "K" before the Navy.

Acton said he really thought John Morley and Frederic Harrison believed in no future existence, or individuality, or Supreme Being—like Renan and Taine.

I don't believe it, and quoted John Morley as saying to me, seriously, "God bless you."

MARCH 3.—Saw Rosebery, who said all was very quiet; that Dufferin, who was the *enfant gâté* of diplomacy, went on writing about two zinc tubs and some billiard balls lost at Rome, and that was all. Hoped things were quieter elsewhere. That John Morley had recovered his equanimity.

A great Miner Deputation on Eight Hours. Mr. Gladstone proposed his local option plan—which won't do, and so off to Brighton.

MARCH 8.—Lovely day. Mr. Gladstone back from Brighton. Very well.

A melancholy prospect of business in the House of Commons owing to obstruction. A Cabinet, where it was discussed, and owing to financial exigencies it is not thought now that the Home Rule Bill will come on before Easter!

Sir W. Harcourt will have to give up his Death Duties, and be content with a penny on Income Tax.

Not very good account from Belfast.

MARCH 9.—A full morning of letters. Belfast Lord Mayor, asking for Deputation, was refused on account of the language of the Resolution to be received by Lord-Lieutenant.

(A few days later we have the Queen writing as to this, through Sir H. Ponsonby :)

WINDSOR CASTLE, *March 13, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Queen tells me to ask you why Mr. Gladstone refused to receive the Irish deputation, as this refusal gives colour to the impression that he will not hear the other side of the question about Home Rule.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

I hope Mr. G.'s cold is nothing.

MARCH 10.—Saw Rosebery, who said Her Majesty had told him that Aberdeen would be impossible for Canada, which proved utterly wrong.

Talked about young Granville, and what I had heard about his lukewarm politics. He supposed Lady Granville was not keen, which was not correct. I asked him why he could not speak to Her Majesty about the wickedness of Lord Salisbury's attempt to stir up civil war in Ulster; said he could not; but he would rather cut his arm off than do what Lord Salisbury was going to do.

He was going to Newmarket with Randolph Churchill.

MARCH 11.—I had been appointed a visitor from the Home Office of Woking prison for women convicts. Mrs. Maybrick, about whom there was so much talk, was there. The whole work was full of interest, and I hope I was of use. Dined at Brooks's—A. Morley, H. Gardner, and Bobby Spencer very amusing. Home Rule Bill given up till after Easter. A futile sitting of the House of Commons.

MARCH 12.—I had luncheon with the Spencers; he seemed in good spirits. Spoke of young Lord Granville; and F. Leveson Gower, who was there, and I laughed at the idea of his politics changing.

MARCH 14.—Mr. Gladstone, who had been ill, was better.

Saw him in bed. Then with Sir W. Harcourt and Edward Marjoribanks discussed work in the House of Commons, and decided that Easter holidays were to end on Easter Tuesday.

Saw Ripon about his speaking, and Kimberley. Answered Ponsonby. Saw Lord Rosebery, and told him that the Queen had said to Sir W. Harcourt that Mr. Gladstone never initiated any subjects of conversation, which was so different from what Lord Granville had told me. Settled about "Durdans" <sup>1</sup> for Saturday.

*Wednesday, March 15, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—After what you urged the other evening I did not feel quite authorized to take any step, not wishing to assume functions beyond my own. Morley then wrote begging me to do so, and so yesterday I wrote a few lines to Ponsonby, which he at once showed to the Queen.

Therein said that I knew there were complaints that she did not receive enough political information (Harcourt told me so on Monday), and I thought I could hardly be wrong in telling him that I knew.

This has been well received, and I am desired to write to Ponsonby during the journey abroad. I replied that I could do so, but that I must inform Mr. Gladstone that I was doing it. Please tell him and tell nobody else.

Ever yours, ACTON.

MARCH 15.—Mr. Gladstone still in bed. E. Marjoribanks said S. Whitbread and his son were in a tight place about the Local Veto Bill, and might have to resign their seats. Settled that Mr. Gladstone would see S. Whitbread.

MARCH 16.—Mr. Gladstone better, but did not go down to the House. I saw John Morley about Civil Servants under the Home Rule Bill, and asked him to get the Irish to surrender their right of dismissing them, except for bad conduct. Then about Mr. Gladstone's reluctance to have a Cabinet. John Morley was very strong for it, saying Mr. Gladstone could not go on as the Head of the

<sup>1</sup>"Durdans"—Lord Rosebery's place near Epsom.

Government if he systematically put aside the consideration of all important matters. I promised to see Asquith about it, which I did, and found him equally strong. I urged him to look in and to say so.

Bryce came with an interesting letter from Mr. Dougherty as to the feeling in the North and the farmers' desire for a rent revision.

MARCH 17.—Mr. Gladstone well again after his cold, and went to the House.

MARCH 18.—A correspondent asked Mr. Gladstone for some reference to a quotation from Dr. Butler, which he could not give. Said Lord Coleridge was the great authority. "When I bring out a life of Dr. Butler, which is my ambition, I shall be careful to give all the references," he said.

He was very pleased with S. Whitbread, who, he said, was a noble fellow.

Trying to get a Cabinet—but it is wonderful how Mr. Gladstone is able to push off what he does not like.

Mr. Gladstone to "Durdans."

WINDSOR CASTLE, *March 18, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Much obliged for your letter. I gave it to the Queen, but have no order to make any remarks in reply.

I admit the reason for not receiving Belfast was good.

Do you remember Lord John Russell's answer to some Dean and Chapter who said they would take their own course and didn't care for the consequences?—

"Sir, I have received an advice of your intimation that you intend to break the law."

By the way, why does Harcourt say he is forced to break the law. What law? and why?

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

MARCH 22.—A very temperate and well-written letter from the Chamber of Commerce in Belfast, which I told Mr. Gladstone would be a good opportunity of seeing them, in which he agreed.

MARCH 23.—A talk with Mr. Gladstone over Local Veto



Bill, of which I told him I disapproved, and I believed no good Licensing Bill would pass without some sort of compensation. He said it had not been prepared to embody his views.

Read him his speech of 1880, which was strong for my view. Of course the *Wakefield v. Sharpe* case<sup>1</sup> had occurred since that time.

Saw John Morley, who said that no doubt Ulster was serious—no compromise was possible. They were registering in clubs, which was not illegal. There was one case of a captain of Militia drilling men, and it was doubtful whether he should interfere and perhaps set a match to an explosion—or be quiet. The police, he thought, had warned the man.

Finance and police were still unsettled. He ought to have a Cabinet; but Mr. Gladstone even objected to tomorrow for Budget. I told him he must insist.

MARCH 27.—Meeting of party at Foreign Office. Most compact and enthusiastic.

A. Balfour's motion of Want of Confidence was defeated by 47.

<sup>1</sup> A point made, and maintained, in the "*Wakefield v. Sharpe*" case was that, since the licences are granted from year to year only, no real claim for compensation over any longer than a yearly period can be technically good.

## CHAPTER X

1893

### EARLY DAYS OF THE SESSION

APRIL 6, 1893.—Mr. Gladstone returned for Second Reading of Home Rule Bill, which I went to hear. Very interesting, for he propounded a plan for Ireland to pay Income Tax, without ever having consulted J. Morley and W. Harcourt, between whom he sat. It was otherwise not exciting, and in a thin House.

APRIL 11.—Mr. Gladstone thought Chamberlain's debating power was greater than it used to be. Talking of Boswell, he said he was foolish and vain, and a drunkard ; but he had left a valuable contribution to history.

APRIL 12.—Mr. Gladstone did not think much of Rigby's, the Attorney-General's, speech as a parliamentary speech, though there were some good points in it.

Dined in Downing Street : T. Healy, Dr. Ginsburg, Jenkyns, Pease, Haldane, Cameron, and M. Morton, M.P. for Devonport, who had made a brilliant speech : a queer-looking fellow. To "Cosmopolitan" with Haldane, who was not in very high political spirits. T. P. O'Connor there.

APRIL 13.—A long talk with Mr. Gladstone on Imperial Federation, which he knocked into a cocked hat. I begged him not to do so to the Deputation, but only to give them a little sympathy, which he did beautifully.

To the House of Commons, to hear Asquith. Found that J. Redmond had made a brilliant speech, which Mr. Gladstone thought even better than Davitt's.

Smoked a cigar with John Morley in his room ; discussed the whole Irish Bill. It must be more liberal in money. We hoped Irish M.P.s would be retained for all purposes. He was sorry that the Belfast Deputation

had not been better handled. Ireland was supremely quiet. The drilling was a lie—only one case of a major, who discontinued it on a necessary warning. Lord Ranfurly had some men out by moonlight, but the movement was too silly to take any notice of. Enrolling was going on, but it occupied their minds.

Then a talk with Asquith, who was happy, he told me, at the Home Office.

APRIL 14.—Had a talk with John Morley as to the Belfast Deputation. He asked me why I had not sent for him, but I did not say I had asked Mr. Gladstone, and he would not let me.

To House of Commons; Asquith's speech masterly, argumentative, and rhetorical.

Lord Cranborne said Davitt was a murderer, and had, like Wolmer, to apologize, and in the same humiliating way.

A. Borthwick said they were a curse to their party, as were the Irish Unionist M.P.s also.

He was dreading what Lord Salisbury would say at the Primrose meeting, to which he invited me.

A letter from Hamilton saying that the Prince of Wales and Leighton were both anxious that Rosebery should reply for Ministers at the Royal Academy dinner, as Mr. Gladstone was not going—asked if this could be arranged. It was thought that to connect the toast with Rosebery's name would make the whole difference in its reception.

APRIL 16.—A letter from Knollys saying that the Prince of Wales will have "very great pleasure" in dining with Mr. Gladstone on the Queen's birthday, and that, as regards the Duke of York, seeing the desirability of dividing the family on this anniversary and considering that he was in the Navy, H.R.H. thinks it would be appropriate if he were to dine with Lord Spencer.

*From Hon. E. Marjoribanks*

TREASURY CHAMBERS, WHITEHALL, S.W., April 14, 1893.

MY DEAR ALGY,—The Prince of Wales and Leighton are both most anxious that Rosebery should be deputed to reply for Ministers at the Royal Academy dinner, as Mr. G. is not going, so I have been requested to ask

whether you would kindly do what you can to get this arranged. Leighton says that to connect the toast with Rosebery's name will make the whole difference in the reception of the toast.

I presume it is for Mr. G. to depute some one.

Yours, E. M.

APRIL 17.—Dined at Armitstead's; Cohen, Farquharson, Dr. Hunter, Illingworth: all very hearty about Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule. Dr. Hunter said Asquith, in whose praises they were all warm, would beat Chamberlain as a Leader.

Dined with Welby at the Athenæum. Mr. Gladstone, Asquith, and Acland, Sir Thomas Farrer and Acton, Bertram Currie and Meade. I sat between Acton and Asquith, and had a long talk with the former on Mr. Gladstone and politics, the importance of wages in dockyards, village councils, etc.; and with the latter on his speech. He said that all I had said about Horace had been more than realized: he was hard-working, methodical, with a great power of dealing concisely with subjects; a wonderful memory, and his way of dealing with people was quite excellent.

Egyptian affair coming to the front again. John Morley and Harcourt strong; Rosebery moderate.

Mr. Gladstone said he always had an idolatrous adoration of the Inland Revenue Department.

APRIL 19.—Mr. Gladstone received a deputation of Durham miners opposed to Eight Hours' Bill.

To see Rosebery, with whom I had a long talk about the necessity of a Cabinet; about the "Aberdeen" appointment to Canada, which the Queen did not like on account of Lady Aberdeen's views about Egypt; as to why Mr. Gladstone had circulated Dilke's letter to the only members of the Cabinet who agreed with him (John Morley and Harcourt); about John Morley's speech, which Lord Rosebery thought was meant to bind the Liberal party to Home Rule for ever, etc., etc.

Dined at Asquith's: Alfred Lytteltons, Birrells, J. Tennant, John Morley, my wife having been to see Oscar

Wilde's new play, *A Woman of no Importance*. It was discussed whether Oscar Wilde was really witty; Birrell contended he was, and gave this instance: He had met L. Morris, who said, "I have written a book, and not a paper nor a review has alluded to it. There is a conspiracy of silence." "Directly after, I met Oscar Wilde and asked him what I ought to have said. 'You should have said,' answered Oscar Wilde: 'My dear Morris, join it yourself.'"

We then discussed the Second Reading Debate. My great disappointment at G. Wyndham, notwithstanding John Morley's eulogy of him. Morley said Wyndham never knew what he said in his first sentences; but he stood up for an old friend. They all agreed that he had gone off dreadfully, and that none of the young men had come to the front on the Tory side, or ours, for the matter of that. Whether the debates were better or worse than in the Reform times. John Morley said that Arthur Balfour and Randolph Churchill had both said Dizzy was dull, which I emphatically denied.

APRIL 20.—I had written to H. Ponsonby, at Mr. Gladstone's request, saying that he might show in strict confidence to Lord Lorne, in consideration of his relationship to the Queen, a letter of Portal's. Henry Ponsonby wrote to me saying he had not got the letter. At the same time I got a telegram from Lorne asking me for it. It was marked "secret," and I sent it to him. He now writes to me saying he has answered it to Lord Rosebery, who, of course, was annoyed—but was very nice about it. I have written to H. Ponsonby about Lorne's breach of confidence, and shall not answer Lorne.

Asquith told me that after his speech Mundella put his arms round his neck and said: "Ah, my dear fellow, it is a great comfort to us old fellows to know that when we're gone there will be some one to take our places."

APRIL 21.—Mr. Gladstone complained of feeling very tired after the exertion of listening to Sexton for two hours and a half. Did not think he was equal to delivering a late long speech. His alternative was, a lengthy one before Balfour—a short one at the end. I urged this

latter course. Dined with Milner at the Reform. Mr. Norman of the *Daily Chronicle*, Ilbert, Haldane, and Robson. Political talk. To House of Commons. Balfour up—very different opinions expressed as to its value. Harcourt loud in its praises. I thought it weak, voice and manner querulous and apologetic. Mr. Gladstone in fine form and voice. A general speech, not entering into detail; spoke for an hour and a little more. Then the division, a full majority of 43. Grand cheering as Mr. Gladstone walked up the floor. What a contrast to 1886, and he still to the front!

*April 23, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Derby's death vacates a Garter. It would be very convenient if a K.G. were available for Lansdowne when he retires. I do not see what other honour could be offered him.

I thought it as well to mention this, but of course Mr. G. may have other views.

Yours very truly, **KIMBERLEY.**

APRIL 25.—A long talk about Wilfrid Lawson and Veto Bill, also as to G. Russell not voting on Railway Servants' Bill. Prepared for Honours.

Read Mr. Gladstone a nice letter from Sir H. Roscoe, telling him how Davitt had said that Mr. Gladstone's speech had obliterated all bitterness and enmity between England and Ireland. Mr. Gladstone said Davitt had always disliked him, attributing to him his imprisonment and re-arrest.

APRIL 26.—Met C. Barrington, who said it was very bad taste on the part of the Irish voting at all on the subject of Home Rule!!

APRIL 27.—A dreary morning arranging dull honours. A man arrested for firing off a pistol outside Downing Street, waiting for Mr. Gladstone. Horace says it is rather serious, for the man had been on the look out for him for days, and had been to Brighton.

APRIL 28.—A frantic letter from Lady Hayter on Miss Helen Gladstone's joining the Women's Suffrage Federation. Mr. Gladstone could not interfere! Why should he?

WINDSOR CASTLE, *May 4, 1893.*

Hallo, hallo, my dear West, this won't do at all! I ain't Prime Minister.

If Mr. Gladstone agrees to give a C.M.G. he must send you the order. Ripon to disgorge his last medal.

I can't.

I don't at all ambition having any thing to do with honours.

As Abel is a K.C.B. he won't care to be made a K.C.I.E.

A baronetcy was proposed for him, and I am told at present he is childless.

You had better establish an Order of the Institute.

Very good picture of you in the Academy.

Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

MAY 1.—Mr. Gladstone came up from "Hatchlands" at 2, in time for a deputation of coal-owners, when he made an admirable little answer.

Then to the House, where he made an excellent speech, which charmed everybody, on the delicate question of Egypt.

Saw Kimberley on Lord Ashbourne's criticism in the Lords of Mr. Gladstone's interviews with Parnell, and then John Morley and we agreed that Kimberley should offer no explanation.

John Morley delighted with affair at Belfast.

MAY 2.—A recapitulation of honours. To see Rosebery and Kimberley on them. My suggestion of Farrer is the best of all, I think. Will Arthur Gordon be true?

Asquith not speaking on Eight Hours' Bill to-morrow. If he does, John Morley will also, and threatens resignation.

Mr. Gladstone will speak sitting between the two and keeping the peace.

MAY 3.—Honours again. Suggested Frank Egerton for a Peerage. Made Mr. Gladstone write to Arthur Gordon to direct him to Kimberley as to honours. He was delighted with my idea of F. Egerton for a Peerage. Discussed all the others at great length, and the future Governor-General of India. I said Cromer: as alterna-

tive, he suggested Campbell-Bannerman ; but this would be too great a loss here. Sandhurst not quite big enough.

Herschell for G.C.B.—not earldom.

Queen objects, as Rosebery told me she would, to Aberdeen as Governor-General of Canada. Saw Ripon thereon, and Mr. Gladstone later on said he would write to F. Egerton about the Peerage.

MAY 4.—Honours again, and Chamberlain's suggestion as to Employers' Liability Bill. Urged conciliatory course. Harcourt agreed.

Tried to find Acton.

A long talk with F. Knollys about honours, etc.

MAY 5.—Mr. Gladstone full of the Duke of Argyll's book on Political Economy, which he said possessed every fault.

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *May 7, 1893.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—We had another explosion—presumably dynamite—last night at  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 11 o'clock. This time it was at the Law Courts, and it closely resembled the explosion which took place on Christmas Eve in Exchange Court in all respects except that happily no lives were lost.

I accompanied the Lord-Lieutenant this afternoon to the scene of the outrage. The charge, which judging by the effects could not have exceeded a pound in weight, had evidently been dropped from the public street into the area through the railing which separates the two. The building is uninjured except the windows, many of which are broken. The police were on the spot within a few minutes of the occurrence, and it is said that smoke had been seen issuing from the area a moment before. At the same time a man was seen walking hastily away from the spot, and breaking into a run as soon as he had passed the building. No arrest, however, has been made.

It is difficult to assign a motive for this senseless outrage. If injury to the Courts was intended, it was a singularly crude and inartistic performance, and it is somewhat remarkable that the spot selected was about the only accessible one in which there could hardly be danger to life.

Yesterday was the anniversary of the Phoenix Park



murders, and was probably selected on that account. For the rest one can only suppose that there is a small gang, supported from America, who have to do something from time to time to justify their existence.

The incident seems to have no significance whatever, and if the newspapers would hold their tongues it might pass almost unnoticed. There is clearly a dynamite gang at work, and it would not surprise me in the least if further explosions took place here or in London. The alarm which they occasion is out of all proportion to the cause, and so far as we can judge the dynamiters do not understand the business.

Yours very truly, HERBERT JEKYLL.

MAY 8.—Mr. Gladstone delighted with a violinist he had heard on Saturday—aged 9. A good Home Ruler!

Settled the Imperial Institute Honours after much trouble, Herschell's G.C.B. giving the most.

Had a talk with Rosebery. Recommended enlarging the "Thistle."

A very bad night in the House on the commencement of Committee—much temper on both sides.

MAY 9.—Houghton called. Nothing doing in Ireland, but he continued to like it, and was much interested.

Harcourt thought John Morley's closure last night ill-advised, and Asquith, whom I met at 40 Grosvenor Square, thought so too. He said the scene was a hell let loose; R. Churchill foaming and inarticulate, Mellor weak, and Chamberlain vulgar.

Houghton came. Ireland was very quiet, but he anticipated more rows in Belfast later. The Centralization there made him a stronger Home Ruler every day.

MAY 10.—First Clause in House of Commons. Harcourt in favour of accepting H. James's proposal on Supremacy.

Ripon's letter to Aberdeen Mr. Gladstone thought good, and said what a good fellow he was; how sad it was looking back to Harcourt's attempt to send him to the Duchy, and his gloomy anticipations!

MAY 11.—Heard from F. Egerton, gratefully declining a Peerage.

Mr. Gladstone to church, and I with Reg.<sup>1</sup> to Bow Street, to see the would-be assassin Townshend committed. Mr. Gladstone said he hoped they would not be hard upon him.

John Morley came in ; was very much opposed to the introduction of H. James's Amendment on Supremacy. Mr. Gladstone in favour of it, and I suggested Harcourt getting some pledge from H. James, which Mr. Gladstone liked.

Told Mr. Gladstone I had been to Bow Street. He said it was curious that, on the Tuesday when the Townshend episode took place, three men had been very close to him, one putting his head almost inside his brougham, and he thought at the time how easily he might have been shot ; and on the Wednesday night, when he heard the shot, he said : “ I wonder whether anybody is shooting in here on the chance of shooting me ? ”

At luncheon referred to the triumphant division of last night. I asked whether Arthur Balfour was not a very bad leader. “ The worst tactician I ever knew,” he said.

MAY 12.—A brilliant speech last night from Mr. Gladstone, who told me he had had no tea and no dinner, and was very tired ; but he had slept like a top the night before. Was much interested in Townshend's case : poor fellow ! he seemed so logical.

Met two pressmen loud in their praises of Mr. Gladstone.

The Opposition were getting sick of being led by Chamberlain. They certainly were very badly led.

Saw H. Ponsonby, who thought the Second Chamber Division very bad for the Opposition.

Also Rosebery, and asked him to take back his letter to Mr. Gladstone about Sir F. Plunkett, as controversy was no good. He willingly assented.

MAY 16.—A meeting on the question of Henry James's Amendment to Home Rule Bill as to supremacy of Parliament of U.K. and its remaining “ unaffected and undiminished.” John Morley very much against accepting it. Harcourt and others for it.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Algernon's second son.

A night of big majorities generally.

A large dinner at Tennant's, and Rothschild's party afterwards.

MAY 17.—Mr. Gladstone rather tired. Said he had had a terrible night with John Morley, who generally was so kind and considerate, but last night he said he would not vote, and at 11.15 got up and went away. We regretted he was so thin-skinned.

Finally settled honours. I persuaded him to take Cecil Foljambe.

Harcourt came in a fright of a crisis with John Morley ; said he would not discuss anything with him, he was so irritable.

To dine with Mrs. Gaskell ; a little dinner to get John Morley to meet Lord and Lady Waterford, Burne Jones, Mrs. A. Grosvenor, H. Cust. Most successful ; Waterford and John Morley talking Ireland all dinner-time and after. They agreed on many points and spoke very frankly and openly, Lord Waterford begging John Morley to go and see Curraghmore,<sup>1</sup> etc. ; John Morley telling him that if he and others like him would join the Home Rulers after the Bill was passed they would make a good Government. Waterford said the Irish, he feared, were such essential jobbers. After dinner John Morley talked all the evening to Lady Waterford ! Most successful, and I am very proud at bringing it about.

I had a long talk to Ripon on Australian Finance, and implored him not to interfere, as A. Clark<sup>\*</sup> thought the interference would intensify the panic.

Then saw Rosebery and settled about Drumlanrig being called up to the House of Lords.

MAY 18.—A nasty letter from John Morley, to which Mr. Gladstone replied, but I got him to come and see Mr. Gladstone and they had a long talk, though rather a heated one, parting friends, however.

John Morley said he had enjoyed his dinner at Mrs. Gaskell's immensely ; the Waterfords were delightful, and

<sup>1</sup> The Marquess of Waterford's place in co. Waterford.

Probably the Hon. Andrew Clark, the Tasmanian representative on the Australian Federal Council.

the hostess more so ; he had learnt a good deal from Waterford, and gave him his views.

Heard from Rosebery, saying that in consequence of the hooting and hissing of Mr. Gladstone the previous evening at a reception held by the Prince of Wales at the Imperial Institute of the Fellows and their guests, he had resigned his position, which I thought making too much of it, and I made him suspend his resignation.

STUDLEY ROYAL, RIPON, *May 24, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I am ordered to Balmoral and am going there on Tuesday. Please send me a line to say whether there is any particular topic on which H.M. is likely to speak to me, and if so how the matter stands and what is the line to take.

Yours ever, RIPON.

17 DOVER STREET, *May 25.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I confess I have some sympathy with the people you speak of, who think that Gladstone ought to stand fire to the end. It is he who has made the party stand and fall with Home Rule, who nailed the Irish colours to the mast, and brought upon us thereby six years of Tory government and patronage and all that insult.

But I am also persuaded that he cannot do it, and that the next six weeks will knock him up. Does not Clark say as much ? From what I observed and heard last week I cannot believe the report of the Chester oculist.

Of course we ought to know the truth and get at the real report from Chester and the true mind of Clark. My own reports, possibly doctored, represent the verdict as to eyesight as having been most favourable and most consolatory to Mr. G.

Be on the look out for complications of another kind at Hawarden. There is a serious objection to Kimberley to be considered. He is spirited, ready, full of knowledge of detail, unoffending to opponents, and unattractive to friends. But the retirement of Mr. G. will greatly weaken the links that bind the Irish to us. There are no symptoms of the kind in the House, but you must have seen

Cardinal Logan's assurance that they will succeed with the Irish when they have failed with us. They would have to think of their chances there at once. Morley and Spencer alone inspire them with confidence, and Morley will, I am almost sure, insist upon Spencer for that reason.

I told X Y Z (a fair correspondent in North Wales) that Mr. G. ought to face the fact that he has a weighty word to speak on the question of succession! No response yet.

You never told me which of my Museum clients is to appear in the catalogue of honours.

Ever yours, ACTON.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *May 27, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—A large glance, short of perusal, showed me the points you cite from Channing, but I think what he said was that postponement of the British Bills till the autumn would be fatal (not only Bill 94). This seemed to reduce the value of his letter.

The delay about the honours list is vexing, but I am awaiting a reply to a telegram sent to Marjoribanks over twenty-four hours ago: Guisachan<sup>1</sup> must be far from an office.

Perhaps we may not start from Finance Bill Tuesday forenoon.

The Viceroy by rights should dine with the Home Secretary, but under the circs. by all means let him be asked. How shall he rank?

Yours sincerely, W. E. GLADSTONE.

<sup>1</sup> The Marjoribank's place in Inverness-shire.

## CHAPTER XI

1893

### AT WORK ON THE HOME RULE BILL

JUNE 5.—I told Mr. Gladstone Brassey would like to be a Lord-in-Waiting, and saw Lady Queensberry about Drumlanrig's Peerage. Lord Queensberry was for the moment furious, as he himself had not a seat in the Lords as a representative peer and had written a very offensive letter to Mr. Gladstone. I promised Lady Queensberry that a soothing answer should be sent.

JUNE 6.—Discussed last night's incidents in the House.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone thought the Opposition were touched, for the moment only.

Randolph Churchill sent through Edward Marjoribanks a message to Mr. Gladstone, saying he might reckon on the Bill being through Committee by the end of July. Mr. Gladstone said: "I wish he would say I might reckon on being alive till that time!"

I had a long talk with Jenkyns, who expressed his hope Mr. Gladstone would spare himself; his speeches roused the Opposition, and raised unnecessary points. Sam Whitbread said the same to me. But then John Morley hates Harcourt managing it. They ought to bring Asquith more into it. I will say what I can when the chance comes.

June 7, 1893.

MY DEAR WEST,—I was very sorry indeed not to be able to accept Lady West's kind invitation to Wamborough.

<sup>1</sup> June 5 had been a great night—one of many—on the "Government of Ireland Bill." Mr. Chamberlain had opened by objecting to a report in the *Daily News*, purporting to quote some rather ribald interruptions to a speech of Mr. Gladstone's in Committee on the Home Rule Bill. He said that the interpolations were false and moved that the report was a breach of privilege.

From what I hear, I imagine that poor Oxenbridge is in a bad way, and that it is on the cards that he may have to resign his office before long.

In that case I hope that you and the powers will consider whether our friend Ribblesdale is not the man for the place. He has done his work in connection with the Buckhounds admirably, all the persons concerned uniting to testify that he is the best Master they have known for many a long day. He is eminently fitted by special knowledge for the Department of the Horse, and I certainly know of none among the Peers who has at all equal qualifications.

The office of Master of the Buckhounds might, if thought desirable, be left unfilled until the question of its ultimate retention was disposed of.

I trust you will agree that this is a good suggestion.

Yours ever, H. ASQUITH.

JUNE 7.—Mr. Gladstone busy on Irish finance.

I saw Rosebery, who expatiated on the charms of a Lord-in-Waiting.

JUNE 8.—I read the substance of *How to Lighten the Ship* to Mr. Gladstone, who, of course, saw many arguments against it, but it will sink in. I told him my plan to get Brassey to succeed Lord Wolverton, who had sent in his resignation at last in an ill-expressed letter, which I would not let Mr. Gladstone answer.

To see Brassey and persuaded him to accept Lordship-in-Waiting, thus enabling the appointment to be announced simultaneously with Wolverton's resignation; then to luncheon with Rosebery and told him all about it. He thought it clever, and suggested Spencer telling Brassey he might answer some of his questions in the Lords, which I arranged should be done.<sup>1</sup> Lord Spencer is off to Balmoral.

It appears that the scare of Siam declaring war against France is a hoax, but it prevented Rosebery's going to Balmoral. Spencer goes on 10-13.

<sup>1</sup> It appears, however, from Lord Spencer's letter of June 17 that it was not done.

I told him the Queen complains of her Ministers not talking about Ireland to her, and urged him to get John Morley asked to Windsor.

Talked to Sir William Harcourt, also to John Morley, who was sorry for his letter, but said Harcourt was impossible with his colleagues, and it would be found out when Mr. Gladstone went. He wondered whether there was a precedent for sending a round-robin to the Prime Minister, asking him to dismiss a colleague!!!!

JUNE 10.—Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone went to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant's, French Secretary of Embassy, to meet the "stars" of the Comédie Française, who were playing in London. Mr. Gladstone sat between Reichenberg and Emilie Broisat (when they were not reciting), and each vied with the other to interest and amuse him—both very successful!

*June 17, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have read Lord Brassey's letter.

I should be very glad to engage him in any Naval debate on the side of the Admiralty.

The questions asked me are so few that I could hardly devolve any of them upon any other Peer.

I must answer them myself.

If a debate is likely to be raised I will gladly let Lord Brassey see papers *re* the general character of the reply to be given on the part of the Admiralty.

I bow to the handsome testimony of Lord Brassey as to my Naval speeches; they are beyond my merits, but I value it coming from so high a naval authority.

Yours truly, SPENCER.

JUNE 17.—Full of arbitration, and a long troublesome letter from Harcourt on Irish finance. Gave it to Welby to try and settle with John Morley.

Alfred Milner paid us a pleasant visit at Wanborough. Most agreeable; discussed many Inland Revenue subjects. He thinks Bill will not be through till middle of August.

JUNE 18-19.—Saw H. Ponsonby and F. Knollys and



suggested Duke of York being a K.P. as well as a K.T., which Prince of Wales approved.

E. Hamilton bet me £5 a Bill does not pass for Home Rule this Session or year !

In June 1893 it was arranged that the Duke of York was to be invested with the Patrick and the Thistle, and we hoped for an investiture in Dublin, which would be very popular there ; but it was not to be, as the Queen was strongly opposed to it.

The Home Rule Bill overshadowed everything.

*From Sir Robert Meade*

June 19, 1893.

MY DEAR ALGIE,—I told J. M. that I had come over to him under difficult circumstances. That Mr. G. was difficult and bothered—that he wanted to know whether the Irish were, as he was, under the impression that Harcourt had stated their objection rather more strongly than he himself had. Mr. G. had understood on the whole that any announcement of the new plan must be postponed. I meant to hint that Mr. G. had better not be pressed that day, and J. M. took it so.

In reply he was specially anxious to postpone announcement. He read me a letter from Redmond, who, I understood, had seen the Clauses, saying that he must oppose—as far as he went, he was firm. I had not heard from Sexton. But he, J. M., stated his *own uncompromising objection* to not giving the Irish the right to collect and of imposing stamps, and that was the end of the interview there. As for the two debates on the old and altered plan, he said he should have that anyhow, as the old plan is to be brought forward for the Irish, while the Government have to explain the new plan.

But you did not think, then, that Sexton would altogether abandon the Bill if he did not get his finance plan. This is important, and I don't think I overstate the case.

I heard later, but I do not know how far it is fact, that he, J. M., got a letter from Sexton later, strong on the subject of collection.

It is quite true, I think, that the two debates cannot be avoided.

Wemyss Reid was at Fox Warren. I had a good deal of talk with him; of course it was *general*, as I said nothing of the new finance. He said he saw a good deal of the Irish M.P.s. He did not anticipate real finance difficulty with them; *wished they could be more consulted*.

Is not the upshot that Mr. G. must see Sexton himself, with Morley stronger on the side of autonomous defence if possible than Sexton? He, J. M., is a bad negotiator.

Yours, R. MEADE.

ST. JAMES'S, June 19, 1893.

MY DEAR WEST,—I am puzzled about Drumlanrig. The Queen says he is a Lord-in-Waiting and must come to Windsor to-morrow. You say he isn't. And naturally he has no Windsor coat—and consequently can only do duty in his shirt-sleeves. Pleasant in this weather, but indecent.

I urge the temporary relief of Playfair, who is burning with ardour for Court life.

The Prince of Wales hopes that the Mayor of York will not be knighted *because of the wedding*.

He has nothing to do with the Duke of York. It is absurd to knight him because of the name.

I resent the Earl of Inverness being made K.T. and Baron Killarney nothing.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

ST. JAMES'S, June 20, 1893.

MY DEAR WEST,—I will take Mr. Gladstone's letter with me to Windsor. I am glad that Duke of York should be K.P.—one of the last Knights if your iniquitous Bill (I may call it so till it passes) ever becomes law. As at present, we may still cry "*Quis separabit*,"<sup>1</sup> and you, I suppose, answer, Mr. Gladstone!

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

JUNE 20.—Mr. Gladstone is too sanguine in expecting to be through Clause 4 by dinner to-day, and Clause 8

<sup>1</sup> The motto of the Order of St. Patrick.

by the end of the week. He began to think that he was getting new material for sterner measures.

Financial clauses were agreed upon in the Cabinet. Six years, then revert to the old proposal. Then came a long and abusive letter from Lord Queensberry about the peerage, which Rosebery recommended not answering.

Rosebery told me about yesterday's Cabinet, and Harcourt's twenty-five speeches, which bored everybody—a man, he thought, much over-rated.

John Morley opened the "financial clauses" question badly; in fact, the Peers were absolutely ignorant of all the details. He had, however, written a long letter to the Queen on the subject, because she had said her Ministers were afraid of discussing it with her. The question of who was to be the new Governor-General of India. It was very interesting to find that to everybody proposed there was some objection. Lord Spencer would have accepted it, but he clearly was too old and could not be spared. Rosebery said that it was impossible that Campbell-Bannerman should be appointed, as his loss would be too great. I do not think that Mr. Gladstone would be sorry to move Cromer to India from Egypt. The names of Lords Morley and Sandhurst were mentioned. I proposed Arthur Godley, and then the appointment was offered to Colonel Norman, a brilliant and successful man but emeritus. Who was responsible for such an absurdity, I know not. Lord Elgin at first refused, and was ultimately persuaded by Lord Rosebery to accept. I believe he is an excellent man of business, but his appearance was not in his favour. A satirical friend of mine described him as looking like a Scottish under-gardener.

A smaller place being vacant by the resignation of Lord Oxenbridge, caused great trouble—Acton, Ribblesdale (excellent), Breadalbane, C. Carrington, all considered.

(POST OFFICE TELEGRAPH)

WEST, 10 Downing Street.

June 21, 1893.

Find our plot about paddy not palatable.<sup>1</sup> Je pense.

PONSONBY.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the proposed investiture of the Duke of York with the Order of St. Patrick in Dublin.

JUNE 21.—John Morley writes to say, even quiet people in the North are getting restive over the delay in the progress of the Home Rule Bill, and urges strong measures. Mr. Gladstone gets precedents.

JUNE 22.—Mr. Gladstone showed me what he was prepared to say on Denominational Education, which was very good and all that could be done. He said he was not yet going to take any very active measures for passing the Bill. Mrs. Gladstone said he must get away by end of July!! Had a talk to Acton on the subject of his letter. What can I do more? and why are the Cabinet so timid of Mr. Gladstone?

JUNE 23.—Received an awful telegram, as to the loss of the *Victoria*,<sup>1</sup> on my arrival in Downing Street. Thought Mr. Gladstone should announce this in the House of Commons. Suggested it to Spencer, who approved, and persuaded Mr. Gladstone to do it.

JUNE 27.—Saw Spencer, who had heard little more about the *Victoria*.

Mr. Gladstone discussed the meeting as to hastening affairs in House of Commons. Asquith wanted Acland to be present.

June 27, 1893.

MY DEAR ALGY,—I have just had a conversation with Mr. Blake, M.P., who, as you know, is a reasonable man, and he tells me that the feeling in favour of accelerating the pace in the House of Commons is becoming very strong, not only in the House itself but in the country. I do not know what weight is to be attached to his opinion, but it coincides with a great deal that I hear from other sources.

What is this meeting at Mr. G.'s room at the H. of C. this afternoon about?

Yours ever, RIFON.

JUNE 28.—A meeting last night as to Commander-in-Chief for the Mediterranean.

<sup>1</sup> The *Victoria* battleship was sunk off Tripoli during manœuvres, as a result of collision with the *Camperdown*. There was great loss of life, including the Admiral, Sir G. Tryon.

Then as to closing Home Rule Bill. As I hoped, they decided to close it in detail—i.e. block by block.

Settled about Duke of York and Thistle. Mr. Gladstone writing to Ponsonby saying he hoped the St. Patrick would follow.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 27, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—We failed in our attempt to make the Duke of York an Irishman.

The Queen wants to give the Cesarewitch [*sic*] the K.G. That is to say, she does not wish it much, but is told she must do so; will you tell Mr. Gladstone.

And also to promote Sir Francis de Winton, who is Treasurer to the Duke of York, to be a G.C.M.G.

He was made K.C.M.G. for African Service.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

(BY TELEGRAM.)

Cesarewitch's [*sic*] Garter.

He comes here to-morrow. To be invested. Is it all right? H.

*June 30, 1893.*

JUNE 29.—The Principal of Keble College asked leave to publish Mr. Gladstone's letters to Pusey, which he declined, saying that they formed part of his biography, not Pusey's; there were some curious letters from Pusey to him on his appointment of Temple to Bishopric of London.

Saw Welby and Hibbert and settled about cost for St. James's Chapel; if not defrayed by Queen, should be paid for out of Civil List.

Luncheon with Armitstead. Settled that Welby and I should dine with him to meet B. O'Brien, a friend of J. Redmond's, on Tuesday.

There was a talk about putting something in the papers anent the Duke of York going to Ireland, and a paragraph was drawn up to the effect that it was the wish of H.R.H. to take an early opportunity of visiting Ireland, and that he might probably select a time during the

ensuing season in Dublin for his visit. Knollys, however, thought that this was too authoritative and definite; that it would probably lead to an inquiry from Windsor asking what it all meant, and that if the visit were by chance postponed it might be thought that the Queen or the Prince of Wales had something to do with it.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 30, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Queen had misgiving about asking Mr. Gladstone to come here. So of course it would be impossible for him to come—and I will tell her so. But as to B. Palace I don't see any way. She comes to London late on the 5th. Garden party (they might talk there). Next day the Wedding. And then she comes back here. Not a moment to spare.

Yours very truly, HY. PONSONBY.

JUNE 30.—A baddish night, I think, but Edward Marjoribanks is satisfied. Harcourt wished to go on, but John Morley insisted on allowing the adjournment—Edward Marjoribanks thinks rightly.

Mr. Gladstone not very happy this morning, but quite calm.

The Queen summons Mr. Gladstone for Windsor on Monday at 3 o'clock.

Consulted Lord Rosebery, who recommended my writing to Ponsonby on my own hook, which I did. He said Fowler was not asked to the wedding, and was surprised in consequence.

Luncheon with Lady Dorothy Nevill.

Afterwards went to the House and heard a petulant, rasping speech of Goschen's, which drew Mr. Gladstone up too often.

Haldane and Jack Tennant came to Wanborough. Haldane says we are losing ground in Scotland fast, and should be beaten if we had a dissolution now. He thinks it comes from Mr. Gladstone not understanding Scotland.

John Morley was a disappointment. Rigby very clever, and much better than C. Russell, who really was ignorant.

If Herschell went to India, Coleridge might be Lord Chancellor and Davey succeed him, and Russell, Esher.

Spencer too old for India. Lord Morley might do.

JULY 3.—Lady Dorothy Nevill told Mr. Gladstone her brother Lord Orford was with him.<sup>1</sup> Nous verrons.

JULY 5.—To Marlborough House. Princess of Wales said to Mary pathetically, "I have been thinking so much of you and your poor boy," which rather upset her. Princess Hélène of Orleans very beautiful.

To *Second Mrs. Tanqueray*—a very powerful play. Mrs. Campbell ill, but her place well filled by Miss Granville—an excellent actress unknown up to the present time.

JULY 6.—Early to Downing Street. To Royal wedding<sup>2</sup> in Chapel Royal. Saw it all and procession. St. James's Street very pretty—very hot. Dined with Welby at "Amphitryon"—a dining club for gourmets which soon came to an end. We had a very expensive and a very indifferent dinner.

JULY 7.—Mr. Gladstone much shocked at the want of taste in the Royalties, all sitting down to luncheon at the wedding and the guests only standing at a table.

We were much astonished at the joy of the Tories at 15 majority only for a Second Chamber.<sup>3</sup>

Sir R. Welby and myself were dining on Tuesday, July 5, at Armitstead's, where we met Mr. Wemyss Reid and Mr. Barry O'Brien; the latter we understood to be a prominent supporter of the Parnellite Party, and in their confidence and counsels.

After much conversation on Irish history and affairs, we got on to the discussion of the Financial Clauses of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. O'Brien was put right on one or two particulars with regard to the intention of the Government, and then Welby put before him the advantages that would accrue to the Irish Party by their acceptance of the six years' period in which the collection of the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in his Home Rule views.

<sup>2</sup> The wedding of King George V.

<sup>3</sup> A resolution in the Lords for the maintenance of the hereditary principle in the Upper House.

revenue was to remain in the hands of the British Government. I endeavoured to support his views, and Mr. O'Brien admitted their force. He then argued in favour of the surplus of £500,000 being guaranteed to the Irish during the six years' interval. This, we said, we should think was impossible. We pointed out that the error in Excise statistics, recently discovered, much weakened Irish claims to a surplus of £500,000, inasmuch as a reduction of contribution to £1,400,000 or £1,500,000 was much more difficult, in face of opposition, than a reduction to £1,900,000, and that the Opposition would naturally make much of it, making the task of the Government much harder than before. Mr. O'Brien said he was well aware of the difficulty of granting such a request. He then dwelt on the financial relations that had existed between Great Britain and Ireland since the Union, and strongly urged the importance of the Government granting a Commission of Inquiry into the question. This appeared to us a reasonable proposal if it were to be appointed at a reasonable time—say next year, which would satisfy Mr. O'Brien. It ended by his saying that, if this Commission were granted, he believed that Mr. Gladstone would have no further trouble with the Parnellites. He could not pledge them, but he believed that was the case and would use his influence accordingly.<sup>1</sup> I mentioned this conversation to Mr. Gladstone on Wednesday morning, and he asked what assurance we could get that Mr. O'Brien would bind his Party. I said we could not get that, but we must accept it for what it was worth. He said he could not promise the Commission, but he thought it was the best arrangement that could be made.

JULY 8.—Asquith, Jekylls, Hayters, Welby, and Horace came to Wanborough.

Talked with Asquith as to the terrible difficulties connected with Harcourt and John Morley, who quarrel on the Front Bench and refuse to speak to each other. As to the future, when the time comes for Mr. Gladstone to go, he thinks Rosebery would be sent for and would sug-

<sup>1</sup> Read this to Mr. B. O'Brien, who said it was correct.—*July 7, 1893.*



gest Spencer's being Premier; in the Commons nobody could lead with Harcourt there; he appears an impossibility, as his colleagues would neither serve under him nor with him, which I think is absurd, for putting aside his blustering manner he is the most kind-hearted man alive.

Asquith did not see why even after the Lords had rejected the Bill twice, there should be a dissolution! Thinks Session may be up by September 3.

A long discussion on Grands Seigneurs and Grandes Dames. We all agreed on the Spencers and the late Duke of Westminster as types, Lady Granville and a few others.

JULY 10.—Travelled up with Asquith and had some more talk. Mr. Gladstone came late. He thinks Bill will leave the Commons by the 20th. E. Hamilton tells me Chamberlain says 22nd.

100 SINCLAIR ROAD, WEST KENSINGTON PARK, *July 10, 1893.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON WEST,—Referring to our conversation of Friday, I think I ought to tell you that Mr. Redmond intends addressing an Irish meeting in London to-morrow evening, when he proposes to deal with the financial proposals of the Government and the political situation generally. If possible, I should be glad to be able to tell him before he addresses this meeting that it is the intention of the Government to appoint the Commission of which we have spoken. I need not say that this letter is written in a spirit of friendly negotiation.

Very truly yours, R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have learned that Mr. Redmond intends placing a question on the paper to-night about this Commission. I have asked him to do nothing until he hears from me later on this evening, and he consents. If you would wish to write to me, Mr. Bryce says that you may direct the letter to me under his care at his room,

House of Commons,  
where I shall get it if sent before 10 p.m.

R. B. O'B.

JULY 11.—A stormy night on Clause 9, with a majority of 14, which pleased Mr. Gladstone, who expected to be beaten. He would not agree to the suggestion that E. Marjoribanks urged, that he should declare the Irish to vote on *omnia*<sup>1</sup> till the opinion of the House had been taken.

JULY 12.—Welby told me that when Lady Wolseley asked John Morley to dine, to meet Houghton, he said: "To tell the truth, I don't care about playing second fiddle!"

Redvers Buller told a story of Morley's saying when everybody was got up in red and blue: "And to think all these men are ruled by one man in a black coat!"

JULY 13.—Mr. B. O'Brien's object is that a Commission should be appointed to determine what the Irish contribution should be at the end of the provisional period; and with that view he thinks the Commission should be appointed as soon as possible, i.e. within a year, for he believes that the result would be favourable to the passing the Bill the second time through the House of Lords, and at the General Election. He does not wish this to be announced, but would be quite satisfied with a private assurance to this effect.

Told this to Mr. Gladstone and begged him to give a favourable answer as to the Commission, which he said he would do, but he could not commit himself.

100 SINCLAIR ROAD, WEST KENSINGTON PARK, July 14, 1893.

DEAR SIR ALGERNON WEST,—As I am responsible for the idea of the Royal Commission and as you and I have been in communication on the subject, I feel bound to say that I am content with Mr. Gladstone's answer to Mr. Redmond's question.

I have always held, and I still hold, that it would be best to appoint the Commission another twelve months. But under present circumstances I do not feel that this point should be pressed publicly on Mr. Gladstone.

However, perhaps you will permit me at some future

<sup>1</sup> i.e. that they should vote on all measures, whether Irish or Imperial.

time to have a talk with you on the composition of the Commission, and the period of its meeting.

Thanking you for the spirit you have shown in these negotiations,

I remain, sincerely yours, R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

JULY 14.—I saw Lord Rosebery, who was disgusted at Arthur Gordon's conduct and would bet on his voting three times against them for once for them.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *July 19, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I told the Queen what you asked about Caryt.<sup>1</sup>

She said "No."

Then I got Mr. Gladstone's letter. She has not answered yet. Lathom was given nothing for the Jubilee.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

There were troubles with the French about Siam, Sanderson saying that the Siamese had behaved foolishly. Develle told Lord Rosebery that orders had been sent that no French ship should cross the bar, just as he got a telegram saying they had crossed. He had complained to Ribot of Waddington's conduct in speaking to Mr. Gladstone on Egypt, unbeknown to him. Ribot had rebuked Waddington, saying Rosebery was quite right, and now the blue book with Waddington's dispatches had arrived, the first beginning: "In accordance with your instructions I sounded Mr. Gladstone!"

JULY 18.—Siam affairs are looking better. Egypt looking worse; I believe the Khedive is impossible, or, as Mr. Gladstone says, impracticable.

JULY 24.—Siam the only interest.

Read all Dufferin's account of his interview with M. Develle to Mr. Gladstone. A proposed statement of Lord Rosebery's not approved by Mr. Gladstone, who thought it premature during Dufferin's and Develle's pourparlers.

Heard from Knollys, who said that the Prince of Wales, whilst not making any complaint, thought that the memor-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. about the Viscounty for Carrington.

anda which were sent to him respecting the result of Cabinet meetings did not contain much news and he supposed therefore that he was told very little of what really took place. Replied saying I told the Prince everything that passed at Cabinets, and anything else could only be informal.

JULY 25.—John Morley came into my room and I gave him a letter from John Redmond as to the Financial Relations Commission, about which he went and spoke to Mr. Gladstone. I recommended, with Welby's advice, Farrer for Chairmanship, of which Morley approved.

Lord Lansdowne's retirement left the Governor-Generalship of India to be filled. Lord Spencer would have liked it, but Morley said that although he would like Spencer to have all he wished, his going would be a great blow to Home Rule, as, after Mr. Gladstone's departure, he could not stay in the Cabinet without Spencer. I said I should do all I possibly could to prevent what I considered little short of a disaster. John Morley suggested A. Morley. I said he was a weak administrator and would not do, and suggested Lord Morley.

I had luncheon at Brooks's, and met Lord Heneage, who offered, though he retreated when I closed, to bet me two to one there would be no Autumn Session. He told me seriously that it was all arranged, with the sanction of the Opposition Leaders, that they should take holidays in turn and prolong the present Session *ad infinitum*.

I met Asquith, who said the difficulty of the Autumn Session was great, as the Village Councils Bill was too complicated to pass in six weeks, and they would have to pass a resolution to enable them to take it up where it stood in next Session.

JULY 26.—I gave Asquith's opinion to Mr. Gladstone. Edward Marjoribanks confirmed it, and suggested dropping supply and taking Bills, which Mr. Gladstone thought a good suggestion. Edward Marjoribanks thought the party would like it, and it was a battle of endurance.

I discussed Governor-Generalship with Mr. Gladstone, and the objections to Spencer. He thought his absence

from here would be disastrous. John Morley, if available, would be good ; would sooner spare Herschell, though he would not like that. He settled to discuss the question with Kimberley.

(Sir Herbert Jekyll, Lord Houghton's secretary, writes Sir Algernon the following interesting letter on his impression of a tour in the West of Ireland : )

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *July 25, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I have not till now had a quiet moment in which I could sit down to give you my impressions of the tour which we made round the west and south coasts. I often wished to write while the tour was going on, but it was impossible to do anything while we were knocking about at sea, and at other times we were so incessantly occupied that letter-writing was out of the question. The tour was most interesting, as many of the places we visited were practically inaccessible except by sea. I need not say much about the physical aspect of the country, except that the scenery of the west coast is magnificent beyond description, far finer, I think, than the west coast of Scotland. Nothing can exceed the grandeur of some of the cliffs, such as Slieve League in co. Donegal, which rises 2,000 feet abruptly out of the sea with the huge Atlantic waves dashing against the base. The first thing that strikes the prosaic mind is why is not this coast swarming with tourists ? and the answer is want of enterprise and capital to build hotels. There is no reason why Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Clare, Kerry, and Cork should not become the playground of England. There are hundreds of places more attractive than the favourite holiday resorts of Switzerland, yet at such places you find either no accommodation at all or inns so filthy and uncomfortable that no one will face the misery of staying in them. Every now and then a decent inn may be met with, but they are few and far between and they generally think it necessary to charge exorbitant prices. I cannot help thinking that there is room for a large and profitable industry in this direction on the model of the Swiss hotel system, and that a golden stream of tourists might be

attracted if in well-selected spots hotels were built combining cleanliness and simplicity with cheapness of living. The great difficulty is the extreme unwillingness that undoubtedly exists to embark capital in any business in Ireland, due in great measure to the grasping habits of the people. I find in my own experience that though the common necessities of life can be, and are, produced here cheaper than in England, it is far more expensive to live in Dublin than in London. It is a perpetual battle, petty extortion in every direction, the sense that the hand of every man is against you, so that it often ends in surrender from sheer weariness of prolonging the struggle. It is this short-sighted greediness of gain, coupled with the singular aptitude for combination which is so marked a characteristic of the Irish character, that makes living in this country so difficult and kills industrial enterprises. We had an instance of it in the Passage Docks, near Cork. There is no apparent reason why they should not do a good business. They are well placed in every respect and there is plenty of work to be done, but the docks are idle and the work goes to England. Whenever a ship puts in for repairs, the men would work vigorously at the dismantling, which is the usual preliminary to refitting; and the moment she was pulled to pieces and unfit to go to sea they would strike for higher wages. This happened time after time, till at last they acquired such an evil reputation that shipowners forbade their captains to use Passage Docks, even if the alternative were the loss of the ships.

At this moment the great grievance of the Cork and Queenstown people is that no work is done in the Dockyard at Haulbowline. A magnificent dock capable of holding a ship of the largest size has been built by the Govt.; there are ranges of sheds and warehouses, but the place is silent and the roads are overgrown with grass. The Cork people ask why is not the Yard equipped with machinery and used like other Royal Dockyards? The real answer—though of course it would not do to give it—is that there are no competent workmen, that if men were engaged and trained they would inevitably strike

at the first favourable opportunity. The Admiral, who is most anxious to see the Yard in use, told me that it could only be done by importing men from England, and in these circumstances it was cheaper to have the work done in English Yards. This appalling labour problem meets you at every turn. Hundreds of common articles of daily use which might be made in the country are imported because the people will not make them at a price which can compete with the imported article. A birch broom is not difficult to make, and birch-trees are not scarce, yet the park bailiff here gets good brooms from England at 4s. 6d. a dozen instead of buying bad Irish brooms at 6s. 6d. It is a trifling thing to mention, but it shows where one of the great difficulties lies. I have wandered away from my theme, lured by one of those gloomy trains of thought which come so easily in Ireland, and I return to say that I believe the tourist industry might be cultivated to advantage.

The Congested Districts Board are doing excellent work, especially in fostering and extending the fisheries. Here again the difficulty is mainly with the people themselves, who in some districts do not take readily to a seafaring life. Much has been done to overcome these prejudices, and much more may be done with patience and better education. At many of the fish-curing stations men are constantly employed at good wages, while the fishermen find a steady market for their fish which were formerly unsaleable. It is singular that the coast people themselves will hardly eat fish, even in hard times when little else is to be got. They like cured fish with their potatoes, but will seldom touch fresh fish, though it can be had of excellent quality in abundance. The extension of railways has greatly benefited the fisheries, as it enables the fish to be taken to profitable markets, but in some cases the railways entail a heavy burden upon the ratepayers, who complain that they are taxed for the benefit of the fishermen. The Tralee and Dingle Railway is a case in point, and it struck me that the complaint was well founded. Large profits have been made by many of the fishermen this year, as much as from £2 to £4 a week,

but it is disappointing to hear that the money is generally spent at once—mostly in drink. There is a terrible want of thrift in the country. Last winter when timber was being felled in the Park all the smaller branches—what in England we call “top and lop”—were piled into heaps and burned, while kindling wood is sold at a very high price. I spoke to the men about the waste, but they only said that it was the custom. I saw many pounds worth of useful fuel destroyed in this way.

Every place we touched at wanted a pier, or a railway, or roads, or something which was to be made or done by Govt. The popular notion of Govt. seems to be a creation with a sack full of money which it can ladle out at discretion, and the object of every place is to get its share of the plunder. Demands for public works are made on the flimsiest pretexts, often on the ground that some other place, where the conditions are totally different, has been unduly favoured. Guardships, garrisons, and forts are looked upon as favours bestowed upon pet places. It is all part of the same idea, that by some means or other public money should be got. This is the natural fruit of the system of doles and grants that have prevailed for so long; there are, of course, cases in which public works may fairly and properly be carried out at the public expense, but the system as a system has had a demoralizing effect, and by leading the people to look to Govt. for every local improvement, has paralysed local effort. We visited a village in Achill Island which seemed to me to show a lower state of civilization than I had ever seen out of a savage country. The houses were placed without an attempt at orderly arrangement—no semblance of a street or row—no privies, no pigsties or cattle-pens—not a flower, not a sign of art however rude—the houses all more or less alike, built of dry stone and thatched with heather. We went into one. It had neither window nor chimney. One end of the house was divided into two compartments, in one of which lived a pony and foal, and in the other a cow. The fire was on the floor, and the whole interior was black with smoke. In one corner was a heap of dark rags that was a bed, and there was



a shelf above it that might have been another. The men of the village were all away in England at the harvest. This is their habit, and they come back in the autumn with enough money to keep them through the winter, which they spend in idleness. It is scarcely credible that they should go on living in this miserable way. They know what decent houses are, for they see them in England, and in their own districts the Coastguards stations and police barracks are models of cleanliness and order. They might improve their condition if they chose to do so by working for more than half the year. There would seem to be some racial instinct in the pure Celt which is too strong to be overcome, otherwise it is impossible to account for the deliberate squalor in which he elects to live. One would think that people who have nothing to do for months together, if they wanted a pier or a road, might do something towards it themselves. Not a bit, they wait for Govt. to do it, and unless Govt. comes to their assistance, provides all the necessary appliances, and pays them well, they will not move a finger. Yet in spite of much that is revolting and provoking, they are most attractive and lovable, and those who live among them—especially in the least frequented places—always speak well of them. This year the people ought to do well, for the crops almost without exception are remarkably good, and potatoes are abundant and free from disease. The visit of the Lord Lieut. seemed to give genuine pleasure wherever he went, and his reception was always respectful and generally hearty. There was no great enthusiasm in the larger places—especially in Cork—but I attribute this very much to the fact that rebel Cork has a reputation to keep up, and rival parties are too much afraid of each other to venture upon demonstrations of loyalty, though the behaviour of individuals of all parties was irreproachable. The Mayor in particular showed H.E. the greatest attention, and seemed anxious to make amends for the somewhat churlish behaviour of the Corporation. My wife greatly enjoyed her visit to Wainborough. I hope to get a holiday in September, and then perhaps I may have a chance of seeing you. Ireland

has many charms, but I have a pardonable preference for Surrey. Yours very truly, HERBERT JEKYLL.

JULY 27.—Better news from Paris about Siam.

Kimberley came and talked about Governor-Generalship with Mr. Gladstone, who is to tell Spencer on Sunday that he is out of the question, of which I am glad.

Mr. Gladstone asked if I thought Harcourt would go !

I told him that he said he would yesterday, but, of course, it was a joke at his time of life.

Luncheon at Surrey House and to see Burne-Jones' picture of Miss Gaskell, which is very lovely.

I went down to the House of Commons, which I reached just in time to hear Chamberlain closed, as he compared Mr. Gladstone to Herod. Then amidst shouts and yells and screams of the "gentlemanlike Party" arose a scream of "Judas ! Judas ! Judas !" I sat next to Davitt in the Gallery, who was much pained at the scene, so new to English House of Commons, but we are learning much at the hands of the party of law and order. "Very sad !" Davitt said, "T. P. O'Connor ought to have known better." Mellor's conduct was feeble, and we agreed he was a failure. Who would be better ? Edward Marjoribanks ? but he was, as Davitt said, an ideal Whip and could not be spared.

Home, very sick and grieved, and thinking how cruel it was that a Deputy Speaker should not be clothed with some symbols of authority to help him to assert his position.

JULY 28.—Mr. Gladstone had borne it well. He read me his sad description of it all to the Queen. I differed on one point, where he said T. P.'s apology was not ample, and I told him so ; but he said it was prefaced by "If I have offended"—as people generally do.

Where did the expression "out-Heroding Herod" <sup>1</sup> come from ? He said he did not know, nor did he understand which Herod he was compared to ; but it was

<sup>1</sup> Surely a very remarkable confession of agnosticism on the part both of Mr. Gladstone and his henchman ! They should have known their *Hamlet* better.

evident Joe meant the one who made the speech and did not give the glory to God, and was eaten of worms.

Mr. Gladstone thought it all very sad, and had never heard of such a case since the one in Pitt's time, the details of which he had, however, forgotten. He asked me if I thought the Speaker was right in passing over the blows.

I thought in the circumstances he was, as the evidence with regard to them was so contradictory.

JULY 30.—I met Bryce, who thought the row could not rest where it did. I hoped it would.

JULY 31.—Mr. Gladstone came at 2. I gave him a letter from the Queen, attributing the row to the Home Rule Bill, which had been introduced into the House, as she thought Mr. Gladstone must see, contrary to the wishes of the large majority of the people, as against a small minority of Irish!

Discussed with him and Edward Marjoribanks what was to be done.

Hayes Fisher's letter in the *Pall Mall* of Friday had much complicated matters.

I begged Mr. Gladstone to let it rest as far as possible, seeing that contradiction would be sure to arise.

He wrote to the Speaker, and talked of a Cabinet.

## CHAPTER XII

1893

### PROGRESS OF THE SESSION

AUGUST 1, 1893.—Much relieved at finding all the above trouble had passed off quietly.

Mr. Gladstone said, talking of majorities, that since the Reform Bill other Governments had had smaller majorities than now, but in going over it again, it appeared they were equal.

Saw Ripon about Governor-Generalship of India and his views of Cromer.

Saw Francis Knollys, who settled that besides my Cabinet reports to the Prince of Wales, I was to write once a week confidentially on affairs in general.

AUGUST 2.—Mr. Gladstone told me Spencer had taken his talk to him about the Governor-Generalship very well, and he understood he would see Kimberley and settle it as Mr. Gladstone wished. I am very glad, as Spencer would have been a terrible loss here, and is too old besides.

Saw Frank Lawley yesterday, who told me Sir Walter Gilbey wanted to get Orchardson to paint Mr. Gladstone, which was of course out of the question, as he could not afford the time.

AUGUST 3.—A letter from Kimberley, saying that Herschell did not want India, and that Spencer was taking time to consider, but was leaning towards home.

Mr. Gladstone thought he had settled this at Hatchlands, and wrote to Kimberley accordingly.

W. H. Grenfell resigned his place at Court on the question of Bimetallism !

A long discussion with Edward Marjoribanks on parliamentary prospects. The Opposition mean going on till October.

We must, however hard on Members of Parliament, have an Autumn Session for Parish Councils' Bill, Equali-

zation of Rates, Employers' Liability, and Scotch Fisheries! at which we laughed.

Edward Marjoribanks again suggested introduction of Home Rule Bill in Lords' next Session. The Lords were helping us well for the Election—and that would be the question: who was to rule, Lords or Commons?

Then about Welsh Disestablishment and Cabinet, and Egypt, which last did not interest Mr. Gladstone much.

Edward Marjoribanks says Home Rule Bill will not leave House of Commons till the end of the month.

AUGUST 4.—A long read of Dufferin's dispatches, giving account of meetings with Develle on Siamese difficulty, and the terms of the protocol thereon, which I did not much like, talking, as it did, for Develle's sake, of our "sacrifices and concessions."

Then a very long talk with Mr. Gladstone about the Opium Commission and Caine and Storey's<sup>1</sup> silly motion about the House of Lords to-night, which would strengthen rather than limit their power.

Lord Kimberley came and caved in about Caine.

The question of Spencer as Governor-General was not closed. Cromer could not and would not go. I suggested Arthur Godley again.

With Rosebery to luncheon, his children and Smalley there. Talked of Mr. Burton's book.

Welby came saying he had had a most satisfactory talk with Sir D. Harrel, who told him that nothing could be better than the spirit and bearing of the Irish Constabulary, so satisfied with their terms that they would regret the failure of the Home Rule Bill. He knew more of the North, and the result of the row and blustering in Belfast not having produced any effect or fear in England had sobered them immensely. Clare was an unfortunate spot; all the big men were absentees. The squireens were a real bad lot and the priests had no influence there, though the peasantry were singularly virtuous.

AUGUST 5.—Told all this to Mr. Gladstone, who was

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Storey moved a resolution declaring that it was undesirable in the public interest that any Bill which had twice passed the House of Commons, but had failed to pass the House of Lords, should become law. The House was counted out.

much interested. Talked of Spencer not making up his mind, according to Rosebery. Mr. Gladstone felt sure it was all right, and said he should never have been even considered.

AUGUST 7.—Heard from Kimberley that Spencer had definitely given up all idea of India. Told Mr. Gladstone that Cromer would not go, and that he had told the Prince of Wales, Rosebery, and Welby so; sent for the latter, who corroborated this.

COWES, *August 6, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—So Cromer has refused India on the score of health. I imagine it will be a very difficult matter to find someone well fitted for the post, who will inspire confidence in India and in this country, and who is not at the same time a violent Oppositionist. The Prince of Wales is much interested in the question, and I feel sure you will let him know to whom it is proposed to offer the appointment as soon as Mr. Gladstone has come to a decision on the subject.

Why should it be a Peer? I suppose Campbell-Bannerman could not be spared.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

COWES, *August 7, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Very many thanks for your letter of 4th, which, however, I only received this morning, it having been sent to Marlborough House from Osborne, and then forwarded to me here.

I have shown it to the Prince of Wales, who thinks that your proposal to write me informal letters of the nature in question, which I can show him, is a very good plan.

As I mentioned to you yesterday, I believe the real reason why Cromer refuses India is the state of his health, and he was very ill when he was there before.

Rosebery will enjoy his holiday, and I think he required one. The German Emperor's visit has been a great success, and he enjoyed it immensely.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

Sir H. Keppel is on board and is better than when he

joined the ship ten days ago. He is six months older than Mr. Gladstone.

Went to Kimberley to try to prevent a row for nothing with Rosebery, which would inevitably follow any attempt to get Cromer away from Egypt.<sup>1</sup> He raised no difficulties, and then for an hour discussed possibilities.

Bryce was Godley's suggestion. Herschell did not want it and would be a loss. Campbell-Bannerman excellent, but would not take it even if he could be spared. Arthur Godley—Kimberley said he was too bureaucratic, though very able.

Edward Grey—too young.

Sandhurst—very good, but not strong enough.

My spirits sank again after Kimberley's interview with Mr. Gladstone, who suggested Henry James and Cobham! I thought Carrington, and rather pressed his advantages.

Lady Fanny Marjoribanks wrote about Edward Marjoribanks and India to Mrs. Gladstone, who did not mean to show it to Mr. Gladstone, but I insisted. He wrote to Kimberley, who would not hear of it.

AUGUST 8.—Pressed for Carrington again, or Sir E. Bradford,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Gladstone sent on my suggestion to Kimberley, who said the latter was a most brilliant suggestion.

Loch<sup>3</sup> was mentioned, but too old (66).

John Morley wanted a place made for West Ridgway, which amused Mr. Gladstone.

AUGUST 9.—“Rien!” as Louis XVI recorded in his diary on the day when the Bastille was stormed.

AUGUST 10.—Norman decided on for India!<sup>4</sup>

AUGUST 11.—Saw Arthur Godley, and protested with him against a man of Norman's age being chosen, however brilliant—and about Edward Marjoribanks. Elgin pro-

<sup>1</sup> To go to India as Viceroy.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Sir Edward Bradford, Bart. (1st Baronet), was Commissioner of Metropolitan Police. He had much military and political experience in India.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Loch, afterwards 1st Baron Loch—a distinguished Colonial Governor and diplomat.

<sup>4</sup> General, afterwards Field-Marshal, Sir Henry Norman, K.C.B., had a distinguished military and political career in the East.

posed by Rosebery. He is better than a man of 67, though not near so good as Carrington.

AUGUST 15.—Chamberlain has told Dilke that he will drive the Government into closing.

Discussed with Mr. Gladstone when it was to be; also whether Ruskin could be made a peer, a baronet, or a Privy Councillor—all out of question.

Discussed composition of Agricultural Commission. Saw Harcourt thereon.

AUGUST 16.—Hereford Election was lost, and Sir W. Harcourt, who was very much in the dumps and in a pessimistic mood, said nothing could be worse than the management of the Home Rule Bill by Mr. Gladstone and John Morley! It had all gone pop! Now that the Unionists had announced their intention of forcing a Closure, as they have—vide *Birmingham Post* and Chamberlain telling Sir C. Dilke so—there was no use in delaying it.

Talked about Agricultural Commission and Buckhounds—about which I am happy to say J. Burns is active.

Harcourt did not repeat that he would not resign if Local Veto was not passed.

Hannen resigned his judgeship. Mr. Gladstone does not think much of him, but more of Bowen, who was appointed in his place.

AUGUST 17.—Cabinet to discuss closing.

Whitbread is sorry, but thinks it necessary. Edward Marjoribanks reports that it is necessary and proposes Monday 28th as the date of its commencement. Mr. Gladstone thinks the Speaker in detail better than Mellor, not on the broad questions of order in debate.

Fowler will oppose closure because he says it is impossible to carry Parish Councils this Session.

Elgin pressed on the Queen for Governor-Generalship. Francis Knollys called, who does not himself like the idea of Carrington, though the Prince does. He would prefer Houghton's being sent to India.

Mr. Gladstone pressed my going away, but I shall not till the Session is over.



Harcourt will look after Buckhounds, but says Asquith must not be on the Committee as Miss Margot likes the Ascot enclosure!

(The following two letters relate to the Governor-Generalship:)

OSBORNE, *August 22, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Elgin, of course. The Queen says the offer of India may be made to him. She does not think he will take it.

She repeats that Spencer is the man. I should have sent Roberts, but I suppose it is a political appointment.

And then I am told that a Liberal as Viceroy means war.

I should have said it meant peace.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

DALLINGTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTON, *August 31, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Many thanks for your letter, the purport of which I am sending on confidentially to the Prince of Wales.

I agree with you in thinking that 67 is far too great an age for a man to go to India and in such a position as that of Viceroy, and then I imagine all Indians dislike having a man who has formerly been in the country in an official capacity placed at the head of affairs there later in life.

Bobby<sup>1</sup> presides at a great political demonstration in the Park at Althorp this afternoon, and Asquith is coming down to speak. I suppose you also will be able to get away for a fortnight, and I hope you will enjoy your hard-earned holiday. Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

AUGUST 18.—Another Cabinet to settle form of closure. They also settled an answer to be sent to the unemployed.

AUGUST 19.—To South Hill—the Hayters, Edward Marjoribanks, Lady Fanny, Smalley, Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Strachey, and Mr. W. Blundell.

AUGUST 20.—Walked to church with Campbell-Banner-

<sup>1</sup> The present Lord Spencer.

man, who thought Harcourt was first favourite for Prime Minister, though people did not trust him. They would not have a Lord, and the Scotch had lost all faith in Rosebery's Liberalism. Of course Harcourt's faults were transparent and not real.

During the debate on the Budget, A——, sitting in the gallery on the Government side, was shouting: “God's only mistake—the G.O.M.” A mild Liberal asked him to go to the other side if he was going to shout, to which A—— replied: “God damn and blast your—eyes.” The other answered: “You had better go away and float some more swindling companies.”<sup>1</sup>

What good manners!

Smalley very bitter about Home Rule—evidently under the influence of aristocratic drawing-rooms.

Edward Marjoribanks said John Morley and Harcourt had not got over their tiff. Harcourt would not speak to him unless asked to by Mr. Gladstone. Harcourt and Fowler opposed to closing supply.

AUGUST 22.—A good division on the closure of Clause 38, at which Mr. Gladstone was pleased. Possibilities of his going away discussed.

The other day, on reading telegrams about the Sultan's good behaviour to us in the matter of the Khedive's visit, and the Khedive's expression of good will, Mr. Gladstone said: “What a pity it is that these moments of repose are not taken advantage of to come to some settlement on Egypt, instead of waiting for a new row!”

AUGUST 23.—Proposal by Edward Marjoribanks to take all time for supply strongly supported. Mr. Gladstone pulled a long face, but will accept.

AUGUST 24.—Discussed the arguments to be used after rejection of Home Rule Bill. Many will say “we did not like the Bill”; but Mr. Gladstone said two very great and simple issues will be raised: Is the majority to rule or the minority? Is the House of Lords to prevail or the House of Commons?

AUGUST 25.—Excellent divisions last night. Scotch

<sup>1</sup> A——'s brewing business had lately been turned into a public company.

Disestablishment was on the tapis, and Mr. Gladstone received a deputation, handling it very judiciously. There were new hopes of an earlier rising of the House.

AUGUST 26.—I went to Canterbury, and on to Herschell's at Deal. Discussed the future with him—he thinks Harcourt an impossibility; but the Government in the meanwhile doing very well.

Does not believe the country would mind a Peer as Prime Minister.

Davey should succeed Bowen. Lockwood would not do for a judge.

AUGUST 27.—We walked to Walmer Church—rebuilt since my boyish days. The place generally full of sad associations for me: my father's house pulled down! The Granvilles gone!—what changes!

Discussed Harcourt's speech on Home Rule; it would be a Second Reading speech only.

Read *Ships that pass in the Night*—original and pretty, though very sad.

AUGUST 28.—Lord Elgin declines Governor-Generalship.

We talked of Davey, and read Bryce's account of a conversation on supply with the Speaker.

Mr. Gladstone recommends Sir Henry Norman, at the *early* age of 67! for Governor-General. I protested to him, to Spencer, to Herschell, and told Spencer it would be the worst thing the Government had done yet.

Herschell told me Matthew was appointed to the Tenants' Eviction Committee without his knowledge.

H. James did not decline the Chancellorship because of Home Rule, but because he wanted political life in House of Commons; but in going over his speeches he found he could not accept Home Secretaryship. Told me of the negotiations on Land Act of 1881 with Ashbourne.

AUGUST 29.—In the evening dined at St. James's Club, with Welby, Mr. Gladstone, Spencer, Ripon, C.-Bannerman, Ribblesdale, Mowatt.

Mr. Gladstone told us the story, which I am never tired of hearing, of how Free Trade first came to his thoughts when he was at the Board of Trade and saw a letter from the Chinese Official at Canton to the Head Swell at Peking,

suggesting that no ships should be admitted to Chinese ports without heavy dues—but ships bringing food for the people was quite another affair—and signed "Your stupid little Brother."

Praised Sir James Graham, but said in 1885 nobody in the Government knew anything about trade.

AUGUST 30.—Mr. Gladstone went through the heads of his Third Reading speech with me, which, alas! business in the City prevented my hearing in the House of Commons.

AUGUST 31.—Discussed the difficulties of the Duke of Edinburgh's allowance, which I thought would have to be given up.

Mr. Gladstone thought something might be allowed to him, as he would still have to keep up English connections. Mr. Gladstone, I fear, has given himself away in proposing the Duke's Annuity in 1887.

Had some chaff with John Morley, who said that Mr. Gladstone had been idle all through the Session, which, as I said, showed his wisdom.

Told him and Arnold Morley they ought to be ashamed of sending to India a man whose memory took him back to what he had suffered in the Black Hole and who assisted at the Siege of Arcot.

A talk with Kimberley, who deplored Norman's age, but said there was no Radical eligible, and the Queen had told him that the Tories were in the same plight.

SEPTEMBER 1.—A further shuffling letter from Arthur Gordon, in connexion with his attitude towards Home Rule, to which Mr. Gladstone replied, adding considerably to his letter on my advice—"a breach of honour and faith" as he called it to me.

Lord Lovelace resigns his Lord Lieutenancy for Surrey, and I pressed F. Egerton. Mr. Gladstone mentioned Farrer, but my man is best.

Got Mr. Gladstone to answer Redmond favourably about financial relations, and discussed his motion for Monday.

IRISH OFFICE, GREAT QUEEN STREET, *September 1, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Last night Mr. Gladstone gave me the enclosed on the spur of the moment, to show how

many Governments have held on with as small a majority as ours.

I cannot make out four Tory ministries with no majority at all. I can only think of 1852, '58, and '67.

Also, I wonder if you have any books by which one could verify the majorities of Palmerston, etc.

Do not trouble to answer if you cannot do so. But if you can, then please send me a line to H. of C.

Ever yours, JOHN MORLEY.

Parliamentary periods in which the majority has been still more "insignificant":

1835-41	Melbourne	.	.	.	$6\frac{1}{2}$
1846-52	Russell	.	.	.	$5\frac{1}{2}$
1852-54	Aberdeen	.	.	.	2
1855-57	Palmerston	.	.	.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
1859-65	„	.	.	.	$6\frac{3}{4}$
					<hr/>
					23 $\frac{1}{4}$
					<hr/>

Conservative Governments with no majority at all: (5)

1835-	Peel				
1852					
1858					
1867					
1885-	Salisbury	.	.	.	$28\frac{1}{4}$

SEPTEMBER 2.—I dined last night at the House of Commons with Arnold Morley, Welby, Curzon, and Lady Fanny Marjoribanks. A capital speech from Edward Grey, and a good fighting one from John Morley. Third Reading carried by thirty-four. What a gigantic personal triumph! Who would have believed it twelve months ago?

SEPTEMBER 4.—A long talk about Arthur Gordon, for whom Mr. Gladstone tried to make some excuses.

Then discussed the terms of the resolution of to-night, which Mr. Gladstone thought too strong and mitigated it.

Then John Morley came in and had a long discussion on future legislation and "Evicted Tenants'."

Congratulated him on his speech and the position of affairs, which nobody foresaw a year ago. Kimberley came in to say Norman accepted Governor-Generalship. What a mistake!—on account of his age—for otherwise he is a distinguished man.

27 Highbury Grove, N., *September 6, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—You may be happy, and you must be proud and thankful that your devotion to the Grand Old Man has been crowned with success, for, according to the newspaper accounts he has come out of the long parliamentary fight as fresh as when the struggle began six months ago. It was a happy thought that led you to give him your services at this critical period of national history. He was the only man who could have led the Liberal army, and you were perhaps the only man who could relieve him of other worries of his position and leave his arms free for the fight, so I heartily congratulate you on the result.

I wish Mr. Gladstone could now rest upon his laurels, but I see this cannot be, as there are movements yet to make which only a man of his genius and experience can contrive and make effective. His antagonists in the parliamentary arena are unscrupulous as to the means they employ, and the new foes who have emerged out of old friends are a dangerous lot. Mr. Gladstone must have been well aware of that, and therefore the patience and magnanimity with which he has treated them has been wonderful to see. These two elements in his character, if they existed before, never shone forth as they have done during this present Session, and will add fresh tribute to his name in the time to come.

The Unionists, as they call themselves, have not done themselves any credit, and I feel certain Mr. Balfour would have acquired a higher reputation if he had not linked himself on to the other leader. Mr. Chamberlain's plans have been utterly thwarted, and he must feel small, but nevertheless he is just the man to nurse his wrath to

keep it warm, and so must be watched, but he need not be feared. It is a law of mind that when evil fills the heart reason abdicates, and hence Satan himself is not so dangerous as he would be were it otherwise. I was sorry the "Closure," which is not a rational means of settling any debatable point, had to be brought into the House; but the Irish could not reasonably complain, as their unreasonable conduct made it necessary, and besides, the weapon was of their own invention. They could not like its action, but it served them right. There is a kind of rough justice providentially mixed in the affairs of this troublesome world, which, like salt in the ocean, prevents utter badness. I have been rather shaky lately, the doctor considering the heart was weak, and I am going to Buxton in a day or two as the air is said to be bracing. The tabernacle, however, must fall, that is certain; we all fall as does a leaf, that is the lesson of the season.

Ever yours very sincerely, ADAM YOUNG.

BLACKCRAIG, BLAIRGOWRIE, *September 16 (Saturday), 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—To-day's post (with letters of Sir Wm. Harcourt, Marjoribanks, and Murray) speaks of the desirability of a Cabinet to discuss Coburg allowance,<sup>1</sup> etc., "for appearances." At present Mr. Gladstone seems anything but inclined to come up, but he will decide nothing till Monday, as on that day he will see Condie Stephen (who is now at Balmoral and whom he has asked to come here on that day). I assume Stephen will come. He has not yet sent an answer. From a letter received from Ponsonby it appears that Stephen has not "full information," and for my own part I scarcely see the use of holding a Cabinet on that question until all the details required are forthcoming. Stephen will be here before the post goes on Monday, and Mr. Gladstone will be able to write on that day, announcing what he thinks. Sir W. Harcourt in his letter sd. that he thought the members of the Cabinet were unanimous against *giving anything*

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the continuance or otherwise of the allowance to the Duke of Edinburgh on succession to the Dukedom of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

*at all*, and Mr. Gladstone made the remark (casually) that the sense of the Cabinet might be ascertained without the meeting of the Cabinet at all.

Murray asks me to come up by the end of next week. He says he wants to be away on the evening of the 27th at latest. I therefore had better go South as soon as you appear on the scenes, a great disappointment to me! I told you yesterday that I had telegraphed to Edinburgh naming the 25th or 26th for his speech. It has just occurred to me that in case Mr. G. had to have a Cabinet on the 22nd or 23rd he would have to speak at Edinburgh earlier, and I have just been in to him to suggest his sending the Edin. people a telegram warning them that he might have to fix an earlier date. This, however, he won't do, having already put them off once, and when I spoke of the Cabinet he said, "Well, I must try and get out of that." Believe me, yours very truly, H. SHAND.

SEPTEMBER 20 (?).—Sir H. Norman, with returning sense, declines the Governor-Generalship. Went to see Kimberley. John Morley came out of the room and took me away. Oddly enough, he was now in favour of Spencer's going to India, mainly for his (Morley's) sake. I told him that Spencer was impossible. Mr. Gladstone had sent him to curse, and he had stayed to bless. Besides, he was too old. Otherwise unexceptionable—but I begged him to consider what his position would be in the Cabinet when Mr. Gladstone went. Whom would he have with him? He said he could reckon on Asquith and Acland, which I admitted, but I said, "You won't be strong enough except for resignation." He told me of Kimberley's anticipations of rows in India and his desire for a strong man. I suggested Edward Marjoribanks and said "We will get Asquith into my room and argue it out." Asquith proved to be in favour of Spencer. I said, "Follow it out, who is to be First Lord?" Fowler, or one of the two Georges<sup>1</sup>—all *three* impossible. If it was Fowler, there would be a mutiny at the Nore, and the others were ridiculous. E. Grey too young, I said.

<sup>1</sup> George Lefevre and George Trevelyan.



Edward Marjoribanks must be the man—it was nonsense to say he could not be spared—his father was infirm and 73, and I told them Edward Marjoribanks would not brook for a moment any new man being put in the Cabinet, and therefore it was ridiculous to look on him as a permanent Whip. They agreed. Sir E. Bradford, they said, would not do. Promised to renew the conversation to-morrow.

Asquith begged me to go to “Glen” when he was there; and said Horace had stuck to his work like a man and exceeded all his expectations—had never made a slip, and never forgot anything he ought to recollect; had relieved him from all his correspondence and all his routine work. Of course the personal intercourse was delightful, and though he was very keen in noticing any slip or blot in the Department, he was universally popular. Pleasant hearing for me—thank God!

Dined with Dorothy Nevill and to a rotten play, *The Tempter*.

Loulou was strong against Edward Marjoribanks and Spencer for the Governor-Generalship.

Sir Charles Russell anxious about “Equalization of Rates” Bill.

SEPTEMBER 21.—A long talk with Edward Marjoribanks—had it out with him about India, for which he is anxious. Said I was quite right in what I had said about his remaining Whip—it was impossible.

Talked again to Edward Marjoribanks about Governor-Generalship, which he would like. Went to Kimberley, who began by saying: “You are the very man I want to see because you are sure to have a Governor-General in your pocket.” I said: “Yes, I have, but I won’t mention him till I have heard what you have to say.” He said he had seen John Morley, and then proceeded to tell me that the Governor-General of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab were both anxious about this cow-killing business—on the other hand he was told it was not political. I then spoke about Edward Marjoribanks, and he ended after an hour and a quarter by saying that, on the whole, he agreed. I then went to John Morley and had tea with him and Acland. The latter

strong against Spencer; the former on the whole saw the difficulties of the position if he went—how to fill his place, etc. Sent for Asquith, who still thought in the state of things it ought to be Spencer. I explained to them again, after saying Spencer was too old and the fearful blow it would be to Home Rule, and how it would weaken John Morley in the Cabinet, that they must not reckon on Edward Marjoribanks as a permanent Whip. His father's health and age, and his feeling that he was next choice for the Cabinet, prevented that. We then discussed others—Bryce, also Carrington, who, Acland said, had done admirably in the Welsh Commission—not strong enough. Edward Marjoribanks said Loulou, Compton, R. Fergusson, or P. Stanhope<sup>1</sup> could succeed him. At this John Morley, Acland, and Asquith were all indignant and said it showed Edward Marjoribanks was a wretched judge of men. It must be Ellis or Macarthur. Talked of Edward Grey—they agreed he was too young a Parliamentarian, had not had occasion yet to show that he was an administrator, and had not yet felt his feet, and so on. Fowler they thought badly of.

Welby dined, and we talked at Brooks's till 11, and I with Kimberley till 1.

SEPTEMBER 22.—I saw Edward Marjoribanks, who still wished for the place, also Harcourt, who was strong against Spencer.

SEPTEMBER 23.—We arrived at Blackcraig, a place of Armitstead's in Perthshire, at 9 o'clock, in time for breakfast. Acton there and the Harry Gladstones. After breakfast had a talk with Mr. Gladstone, conveying to him the accumulated wisdom of Kimberley, Asquith, John Morley, and Acland as to the Governor-Generalship. He would not hear of Spencer and did not believe in any rising against our rule in India. Thought it would not do to send a Whip straight from Whipping. Rosebery was going to see Elgin, with whom he said the door was not closed. I explained that Edward Marjoribanks could only

<sup>1</sup> (1) "Loulou" Harcourt; (2) Lord Compton, afterwards Marquess of Northampton; (3) Ronald Munro-Fergusson, of Novar; (4) Hon. Philip Stanhope, afterwards 1st Baron Weardale.

be a temporary Whip, as, even if Spencer went, he would, in the opinion of those Cabinet Ministers I had seen, be the next man for the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone, I am sorry to say, thought that the proportion of Lords and Commons in the Cabinet should be maintained.

A long talk with Acton—always very pleased with his place at Court. Rather regret the hold he gets on a visit to Mr. Gladstone, who exaggerates his value, which is great, I think, but he, like many others, has an eye for No. 1.

Acton went in evening. Talked of Peel, etc., at dinner.

SEPTEMBER 24.—Mr. Gladstone admitted to me his guilelessness, as well as ignorance of men and things now, and said all he learnt on such matters was from me and Edward Marjoribanks.

SEPTEMBER 25.—A long letter from the Queen (whose letters, Acton says, are often written by Princess Beatrice, their writing being somewhat similar) saying she had on the Coburg question consulted Salisbury, Halsbury, and Selborne. "Very wrong," said Mr. Gladstone.

SEPTEMBER 26.—Heard from John Morley on his difficulty as to doing something for West Ridgeway.<sup>1</sup> Discussed John Morley with Mr. Gladstone, and admired all he did, but regretted his thin skin.

CHIEF SECRETARY'S LODGE, PHENIX PARK, *September 25, 1893.*

Many thanks, my dear West, for your letter. If there is going to be no trouble in India, I don't care who goes. If there is, you will incur grave responsibility if you send any man save one—no matter how disadvantageous to our party. On the whole, I agree that E. M. is hardly possible. I believe that I know by heart every detail of the domestic circle to which you refer. It is no edifying picture, is it?

Rain threatens here—but I am up to my eyes in work, so I don't care.

I wrote to Mr. G. a letter about Ridgeway yesterday. Perhaps he will speak to you about it.

My patience is at an end. The late Govmnt. did not treat Balfour in this way.

<sup>1</sup> Sir West Ridgeway was then Under-Secretary for Ireland.

You will perceive that I do not mean to let Rosebery have all the “bad humour” to himself.

Ever yours, J. M.

Agreed with Mr. Gladstone as to the loss Lord Granville was.

Talked with him of Eton times, and the habit the boys had then of “boo-ing,” which had gone out before my day. His tutor, before he went to Eton, was an Orangeman, who educated him and Dean Stanley. Taught them nothing. He went to Eton knowing and wishing to know nothing. His first desire to learn was when he was sent up for good by Hawtrey, whom he always respected. It surprised me to hear Mr. Gladstone say that the first time in his life he had received an inspiration, with a desire to learn and do; was from being “sent up” by Hawtrey, who was head master when I was at Eton, but I found out that, as usual, he was correct: Hawtrey having become an assistant master in 1814, and Mr. Gladstone being under him in 1821 when he was sent up for good.

Talked of Lord Granville’s pluck, when in Mr. Gladstone’s 1881 Government he threatened Turkey, which would not keep the Treaty of Paris, with the seizure of Smyrna.

At dinner Mr. Gladstone told a story of Melbourne, whom he regretted he did not know more than casually. There was a meeting of Whig Peers at Lansdowne House on the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws and Peel’s conversion, and it was suggested that the Bill should be thrown out in the House of Lords, but Melbourne said, “No, it was a damned mistake. J. Russell’s letter had committed them and they must abide by it.”

A Prime Minister’s qualifications<sup>1</sup> were knowledge of dealing with Queen, colleagues, and people. Melbourne had all the requisites for the first two admirably, but not the last.

“Dapper” (derived from the German, he thought) was the word for everything good at Eton in his day.

SEPTEMBER 27.—I begged him not to allude in his coming speech at Edinburgh to Featherstone, where there

<sup>1</sup> See Lecky’s *Qualities needed in Political Life*, vol. v, ch. xviii.

had been rioting and shooting, but only to make a sympathetic reference to mining difficulties generally.

He said Herbert was so anxious for him to do it; he could do it carefully.

Mr. Gladstone told us that kilts were only introduced into Scotland early in the eighteenth century, in this wise:

The Highlanders till then only wore plaids, and in smelting iron-ore, nothing. The Quakers, who came in great numbers, thought this indecent and devised the kilt. (Giving as his authority Captain Burt, author of *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*.)

Drove to Cargill—a long damp drive, Mrs. Gladstone good-naturedly waving her hand at every little boy or girl that cheered—where we found a special, which took us to Edinburgh.

My son Reggie and Ida<sup>1</sup> were on the platform; Ribblesdale and Lady Ribblesdale came.

A densely packed hall—very attentive. Mr. Gladstone in wonderful voice, never losing it for a moment of the one hour forty minutes during which he spoke. A moderate indictment against the Lords.

Dined at Royal Hotel—a banquet given us by the Liberal Association.

Mr. Gladstone had never heard of Lord Derby's and Palmerston's notes on "Tea and Turnout" and "Paper and Stationery," so well known. Thought Palmerston rather wittier than Derby. I told him of the latter's note (when persecuted by a wine merchant to buy his sherry as a cure for gout): "I have tasted your sherry and prefer the gout." He had not heard it before and thought it good.

SEPTEMBER 28.—Ida came down and we saw Mr. Gladstone off. He said, "Your quotation was the gem of my speech (one from Chamberlain which I had found for him). Mr. Gladstone talked of the haste of the Lords on the occasion of the "Public Worship" and "Ecclesiastical Titles" Bill, and I added—"all coercion Bills," and wondered he had not included these in his indictments.

<sup>1</sup> Ida was Mrs. Reginald West.

## CHAPTER XIII

1893

### AUTUMN HOLIDAYS

OCTOBER 1.—Arranged that Spencer Lyttelton should go down to Hawarden, for Mr. Gladstone was getting very despondent about his eyesight. “The gates of sense are closing in,” he says. “Reading is drawing near its close. My general strength has been this year decidedly beyond the average; my difficulties are collateral, but are becoming very serious.”

HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, *October 4, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Mr. G. would be obliged if you would read through this report of his speech and *mark* any passages that you may think deserve revision and send it back here. He cannot do the job himself, but would look at the passages you may indicate.

Elgin has accepted!

Blackwood's death leaves the most important post<sup>1</sup> there is, in E. Hamilton's opinion, to be filled up. A. Turner has almost certainly not health enough for it, and E. H. doubts whether there is anyone in the Office competent for it. He says Murray would be the man were it not that it would be a most serious loss to the Treasury, and that he probably would not wish to leave his present Dept.

Mr. G. is tolerably well, and his deafness much less.

I hear the ladies from Glen were present at the Edinburgh speech. I wish Charty would write me her views on it. I gather that there has been no committee on the Buckhounds, and consequently nothing will be done at present.

Yours, S. LYTTELTON.

<sup>1</sup> Secretaryship of the Post Office.

STUDLEY ROYAL, RIPON, *October 4, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—Thanks for your letter. I should think a very good solution had been made for the Woods and Forests.

Please let Mr. G. know that I hope we have settled our Swaziland affairs satisfactorily. It has been a troublesome job. But I fear that fighting in Mashonaland is inevitable. We have at least the satisfaction of feeling that we have done our best to keep the peace.

My wife is, I am very sorry to say, seedy. I hope it is no worse than is implied by that word, but she is sadly weak.

Yours ever, RIPON.

OCTOBER 6, Glen.—Elgin accepts Governor-Generalship.

A long time with Asquith, who asked me what Horace's ambition was, for he would do all he could in any way for him—he could not have believed how useful he would turn out to be and how he shone over his colleagues—so tactful, so safe, and so liked by all. He would see what he could do at the Home Office, and if not successful there would write to Mr. Gladstone, but in any case he hoped he would not leave him yet.

We both agreed that it would have been better for Mr. Gladstone's reputation if he had retired, but it would have been selfish and practically impossible. What would happen when he really did leave? I said I thought Rosebery would be sent for. Asquith said he knew what he would do—he would lay the question before the Cabinet, and I said the answer would be "Yes" to Rosebery's leadership. Asquith was not sure as to Harcourt's serving under him. John Morley would prefer Spencer as Prime Minister. Asquith said there would be nobody for the Foreign Office. Kimberley, I said, but only as a bridge, according to Asquith. But bridges are useful in crossing a river. The next question would be the crux—would the Cabinet consent to the leadership of Harcourt in the Commons? They all said they would not now, but political necessities made men see things differently. Asquith admired W. Harcourt very much, but said his overbearing manner was intolerable.

Asquith will be Leader, of course, some day, but when and what can be done with W. Harcourt in the meanwhile? Asquith regretted John Morley's feminine susceptibilities—for three weeks he had not spoken to him. Praised Acland very highly and said he was the success of the Government, and that if he had charge of the "Parish Councils Bill" he would gain many votes.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, *October 7, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—There is something mysterious about Elgin. He has never replied to Mr. G.'s letter, and Kimberley writes to-day as if matters were still doubtful, and yet Rosebery's telegram announcing his decision was quite explicit. He is writing to Asquith about the phrase in his Edinburgh speech to which you refer. I believe it is under consideration to introduce the H.R. Bill in the H. of Lords.

Lady Fanny wrote again to Mrs. G. about E. M. and India in rather impulsive language. Mrs. G. replied frankly and pointed out the objection, as specified in a mem. (inclosed) from Mr. G., and said she—Mrs. G.—thought she would regret ever having written. Lady Fanny to-day replies, withdrawing the letter but rather sticking to her guns about E. M.'s great and fatiguing labours and services even in the days of R. Morley.

Mr. G. would be glad if you could add any notes to the inclosed list of non-voting peers which Shand has drawn up.

Probably there are several and good ones whom I have not so marked, but have no reference books here. (It is a model of an uncomfortable home!)

Herbert comes on Monday and I will consult with him about Asquith coming here. There is a talk of their having to move up to London in about three weeks' time, which might interfere with this plan.

Yours affectionately, S. LYTTELTON.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *October 9, 1893.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—All I know about Ld. Elgin and The Viceroyalty is this, that Ld. Rosebery telegraphed to Mr. G. that he accepted it.



I remember Mr. G. wrote to the Queen and to Ld. Elgin himself (on the 3rd October) saying he was happy to hear of his decision and congratulating him.

To this letter no reply has been sent, and in a letter recd. from Lyttelton this morning (Monday) he tells me he has telegraphed to Ld. Elgin about it.

I am sending on a letter to Hawarden from Ld. Rosebery, who says he cannot possibly find permanent employment in the Diplomatic Service for Ridgeway. He says, "The Diplomatic Service, whether for good or for evil, is now a service . . . with very slow promotion, and I have no right except under very exceptional circs. to put anybody in at top. Did I do this it wd. be for Reay or Acton, both of whom I am most anxious to serve, and both of whom cd. at certain posts . . . render good service." Words I was sorry to read.

Ponsonby has written to Mr. G. saying that unless the D. of Coburg has £15,000 a year given to him he will not be able to keep Clarence House. I am afraid this won't help to smooth matters, as unless he keeps Clarence House I don't suppose he will get anything.

Yours very truly, H. SHAND.

HAWARDEN, *October 14, 1893.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I wish you would write yourself to Mr. G. on the P.O. appt. I mentioned the possibility of Murray to him, and he only said that the first man shd. be chosen. It would be well to prime him a bit before A. Morley writes to him—Mr. G. would hardly write first as A. M. appears to expect. I suppose the place would be quite impossible for W. Ridgeway. J. Morley is in a *great* state of mind over the difficulties of finding a place for him, and says it is quite impossible that they can work together. It is really a very serious state of things. Mrs. G. says the 24th would suit perfectly for having you here. Also Asquith and Welby. Will you put them up to writing to her about it, as I told you Herbert thinks there shd. be a brief break between A. being here and speaking at Leeds on the 30th. The Coburg matter is rather hung up, Harcourt being away, and is very little,

if at all advanced. Ponsonby writes occasionally. The Duke says he cannot keep up Clarence House under £15,000 per annum. I leave here next Wednesday for Trentham for two days and then to London. Shand will probably come on Friday, and Murray is to look in a few days later on. Eyton is here, and Miss Pamela Wyndham has just gone.

Ever yours, S. LYTTETON.

BALMORAL CASTLE, *October 14, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Does Miss Margot contradict her reported marriage? I think she has been married by newspaper report to all the bachelors and widowers in the two Governments. Being married I cannot be included till I turn Mahomedan.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

OCTOBER 17, Glen.—Bet Lady Rayleigh five shillings an Irish Parliament for the whole of Ireland is established in five years from now.

After a long talk with Margot I went with Sir Charles Tennant to Glasgow to hear Asquith, who was well received and spoke well to an audience of 5,000.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *October 17, 1893.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—Things are going very badly as regards the Ridgeway business.

Morley threatens to resign if he (Ridgeway) is not provided for in some way.

As I think I told you, Lds. Rosebery, Kimberley, and Ripon say they can do nothing to help, and Morley talks of "the evidence the position furnishes of want of energetic and effectual support from colleagues." He also says "the Cabinet will be responsible" and that he feels pretty strongly as to the indifference which has brought things to this pass, "but assuredly," he adds, "in that indifference you have no part."

Mr. Gladstone has written to Ld. Spencer (and to him only) about it all. He says it is incredible that a man of Morley's high character shd. so strongly misapprehend the position and the duties wh. it entails.

He hopes (he says) that Ld. Spencer will write to him, and that if he does he will do it strongly.

Ridgeway's six months' leave expires immediately, and Mr. Gladstone's wish is to get it extended for a fortnight and then have a Cabinet on the 1st or 2nd November to talk it all over.

He has written to Sir Regd. Welby to ask if there is any difficulty as to this, but Sir Regd. being absent I have (as Mr. G. wished) given the letter to Ed. Hamilton, who said he would see Mowatt about it and let me know.

Mr. G. has written also to Sir Wm. Harcourt saying that the "fat is in the fire and the flame such as no one cd. have anticipated."

He does not, however, tell him of Morley's threat—he simply says he wants the leave extended and a Cabinet held on the 1st or 2nd proximo.

There is nothing in Mr. Gladstone's letter to Sir R. Welby to show how serious things are.

He simply asks the question as to extension of leave and wishes a telegraphic reply. I hope it will all blow over, but it is an ugly moment.

I send this in the bag to insure safety and to Leeds in case it might miss you at Glasgow.

Hamilton has just been in, saying that Ridgeway's services will be covered by F.O. payments up to 1 November, but that after that nothing further can be done. A telegram to this effect has been sent to Mr. G.

Hamilton said he thought Spencer Walpole might be brought over in connection with the Blackwood vacancy, and then Ridgeway cd. go to the Isle of Man.

Yours very truly, H. SHAND.

OCTOBER 21.—To Dublin: a rough passage; very kind reception from the Jekylls, and a dinner party.

OCTOBER 22.—Walked through the park to the Cathedral—a long service—walked back, and after luncheon walked for hours with Mrs. Jekyll, who told me a ghastly story. When Trevelyan came over to succeed Frederick Cavendish, Mrs. Trevelyan went to a window in the Lord Lieutenant's Lodge from which Spencer saw Cavendish and

Burke murdered. On pulling aside the curtain, there was something on the floor which Mrs. Trevelyan picked up, and which proved to be the coat of one of the murdered men, sliced, gashed, and bloodstained. Captain Byng, A.D.C., who was with Mrs. Trevelyan, told this to Mrs. Jekyll, who would not believe it and asked the old housekeeper, who admitted, with tears in her eyes, that it was true!!

Learnt of the odd position of affairs in Dublin—boy-cotting of society, the stiffness of Houghton, and the sensibility of John Morley. Sat very late talking *de omnibus rebus*, etc.

Called on and walked with John Morley, telling him of my suggestion that West Ridgeway should go to the Isle of Man vice Walpole transferred to Post Office,<sup>1</sup> which pleased him.

OCTOBER 23.—Met J. Morley and walked through the park past the spot where the murder took place; then with H. Jekyll through the Zoo; a drive later with Mrs. Jekyll, talking of Ireland.

At lunch a constabulary inspector, Mr. Craven, interested me by his account of the marvellous and rapid progress being made in Ireland; how, wherever there was fixity of tenure and rent, stone cottages and gardens were growing in the place of mud cabins. To see pictures, but the gallery was closed; saw wonderful gold-work discovered in Ireland. To Trinity College, to see Mr. Mahaffy and his Græco-Egyptian papyri; to John Morley, who could not come away, so walked home alone. Found Asquith, Armitstead, and Lyall. Mr. Gladstone wrote approving my suggestion that West Ridgeway should take Walpole's place, and Walpole go to Post Office.

Sat next J. Dillon at dinner, who was very interesting; said he had been thirteen years M.P. and yet had to ask his way three times to John Morley's office in Dublin, which he had never entered before. He said Redmond's speeches did more harm in England than Ireland, and

<sup>1</sup> This was the arrangement finally adopted, Sir Spencer Walpole vacating the Governorship of the Isle of Man for Sir West Ridgeway, and going to the Post Office.

that they must be taken to convey the tenth of what was said. He did not want to turn the Government out really. America was nearly solid for the Nationalists, and without dollars from there Redmond could not keep a party together. He agreed with me that probably Home Rule would be passed by the Tories, but if the Liberals were beaten at the next election it would so consolidate their party in Ireland that the Tories could not live as in 1866, when J. S. Mill said, "Disraeli goes through the country saying to the working man, 'Here is my Reform Bill'; the working man says, 'Thank you, Mr. Gladstone.'" So it might be with Home Rule. Talked of the Irish Constabulary; the men are mainly Home Rulers, but the officers, who saw the loss of their careers, were not. He gave me a thrilling description of a meeting and how he dodged the police. As he was driving away on a car, someone darted out, put a rug over his knees and said "God bless you"; as the figure disappeared he recognized the constabulary uniform.

Lord Waterford was not a good landlord; Lord Bessborough was. Asquith, Lyall, J. Morley sat up late smoking.

OCTOBER 24.—A. Morley accepts my proposal for Walpole to go to the Post Office, and J. Morley asked me to speak to Asquith as to his successor. Asquith was very nice; of course, he said he did it with some qualms but would at once appoint W. Ridgeway to get over the impasse. Then a short talk in the garden with J. Morley, who was really happy and very grateful to me. Then to Mrs. Jekyll, with whom I had a long walk and a very full talk about the curiosities of the Dublin situation. She was ambitious, so I urged her to overcome all the difficulties of the position and play a little rôle herself. Met Davitt, whom I introduced to her, and then a long luncheon and afterwards a most interesting talk with him. His terrible prison experiences in Dartmouth and other prisons! He was a kind of St. Paul as far as his travelings and sufferings went. He was very modest, pleasant, and frank—was glad to be out of Parliament—thought the good harvest would help to keep things as quiet as

they were at present, and was very hopeful for the future. With all the advantages of fixed rents and tenure there was some danger arising from the number of Jews (1,700) coming into the country and lending on mortgages. A. Lyall said this was the case in India, and, Armitstead said, also in Prussia. Davitt confirmed Dillon in the soundness of America, and said, disagreeable as the incident was at Chicago where they had tried to pull down the British flag on Lady Aberdeen's Irish village, there was ultimate good in it as it proved to be the work of a very minute faction. Dillon was very frank about the position of the Lord-Lieutenant, and I told him of the Jekylls' position between two fires. He said he would gladly see them or call on them anywhere out of the Castle, but the suspicion of the Castle in the country could not be laid at once and none of them could go there. Spoke very warmly of J. Morley. He wanted him to speak at Londonderry, where he said he would get a fine reception.

Davitt was for a classification of convicts, as the old gaol-birds corrupted the young offenders, and did not think that marks should be given in gaol for good conduct only, as the oldest gaol-bird was the best of prisoners, knowing as he did all the dodges and ropes. The first nine months of solitary confinement were dreadful and they made no allowance in his oakum task for his one arm.

Then a walk and talk with J. Morley; discussed Acton, who has rather fallen in his estimation and in conversation is a broken reed. Godley, whom he thought sapient rather than wise. Bryce, a good, well-informed, clever fellow. Welby's dilatoriness, for whom, however, he expressed great admiration.

A great Viceregal dinner. Sat next, and talked a great deal, to Houghton; who was very communicative, deplored his position between two stools, Unionists and Nationalists; hoped he might see something of the latter in London; hoped also the Duke of York would come to Ireland, on his getting the Patrick. His Tory friends getting very sick of Chamberlain. Then a long talk with J. Morley, Asquith, and Lyall in smoking-room, discuss-

ing measures and men. How these Cabinet Ministers love one another, I said.

OCTOBER 25.—At 9.35 a.m. by North Wall to Holyhead. Very rough. Hawarden at 5. Welby, Richmond,<sup>1</sup> G. Murray there. No private talk with Mr. Gladstone.

OCTOBER 26.—Mr. Gladstone delighted with my suggestion which had led to a settlement of the Ridgeway difficulty; deplored John Morley's threat of resignation and want of consideration in the matter. I said it was owing to his loyalty to Ridgeway, and to his sensitive and almost feminine character, which was so endearing, but not rough enough for daily life. He liked this description, which I hoped made him take a different view, but he said that never before had he had such personal difficulties as those with Harcourt, Rosebery, and John Morley in this Government. Hartington, Forster, and, I added, Lowe, were troubles before. The present difficulties, I said, were largely owing to the peculiar circumstances connected with the Government and the want of personal contact one with another. This, he would not admit, but it is true nevertheless.

Mr. Gladstone talked all through dinner, and all through the evening, mainly Treasury matters; bishops, and "t'ould Vicar Hook of Leeds."

OCTOBER 27.—Talked about the Garter, which Kimberley is pressing for Lansdowne. He was quite ready to give it to Bessborough if his politics would allow of it. Talked of Asquith's speech and said his idea was to introduce the next Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords. I argued that the Government would be no forwarder if they did. He said that the Lords would repeat their offence, but I said they could do nothing else and I should prefer a House of Commons resolution, which at present he does not agree with.

After luncheon drove with him and walked. Asked if I knew Harcourt's future views. I did not, except that I heard from his colleagues that he wanted to be Lord Chancellor, which was impossible, and that many of them refused positively now ever to serve under him. I said I

<sup>1</sup> D. C. Richmond, C.B., one of the Charity Commissioners.

was surprised at his colleagues not getting used, as all permanent Civil Servants had, to his outbreaks, which were only barks not bites. Mr. Gladstone repeated that Rosebery, Harcourt, and J. Morley were very queer people to deal with. Rosebery was explainable by his egotism. He said that he felt that the end of his Prime Ministership would come from his eyesight, as he had cataract in both eyes, but he did not wish me to mention it. I hoped that was in reality good news, and that Pagenstecker would cure him; he said it could not be as Prime Minister, which I combated. Deplored the loss of Lord Granville, spoke of his unselfishness, knowledge of men, etc.

At dinner Mr. Gladstone was tired, our walk being too much for him. He had shown me the historical spot where he had been attacked by the cow; had talked to Welby about *Regulus* and his own translation of *Horace*, which he did not want talked about. I was saying to Welby how, when old, a man does not seem to feel the death of his friends, and told him how, when I went down to Hastings after Lord Granville's death Mr. Gladstone talked about it sadly for ten minutes or so and then apparently put it aside, as you would a book one had closed. Welby said his experiences after F. Cavendish's death were the same, and put it down to Mr. Gladstone looking on life as a battlefield. A general in battle lost his A.D.C.s, but could not be overwhelmed by their loss.

Asquith and I had enjoyed our visit to J. Morley very much, and had proposed to him that it should be an annual affair as long as he was at the Chief Secretary's Lodge.

Asquith told us of a Bishop of Cork, in full fig and gaiters, seeing a little girl trying to reach a knocker, and knocked for her; she said, "Now we must run like the devil, as he always comes out with a stick!"

Mary said, when Adam and Eve were naming the animals he said, "What's this coming along? It looks like a toad." "Yes," said Eve, "and croaks like a toad." "Yes," said Adam, "it is a toad, and as it looks like a toad, croaks like a toad, and is a toad, let's call it a toad."



OCTOBER 28.—A very pleasant breakfast. Mr. Gladstone, who had already been to church and shown Mr. Richmond the library, was in great form; deplored the feebleness of the Diplomatic Service, and spoke of diplomatists always repeating their own conversations. He thought ambassadors *ad hoc* were better than permanent ambassadors. Told us, and asked me to verify, the story that when the German troops were surrounding Paris, Bismarck offered to Jules Favre peace on condition of the cession of Strasbourg and its banlieu, and he replied, "Pas un pouce de notre territoire ni une pierre de nos forteresses." Thought he had heard it through Lord Granville. Thought more of Lord Lyons than of Odo Russell.

At 12.55 p.m. Welby, Asquith, and I left. I am always glad not to have missed through my own fault an opportunity of seeing Mr. Gladstone at home, for how few more opportunities there can be! Asquith told me of his conversation with him, and of his terrible idea of a spring dissolution, which he had combated, I hope, successfully; of Asquith's wish that Carrington should have the Garter; of J. Morley, his melancholy, sensitiveness, and refusal—together with Rosebery—to serve with Harcourt, which he strongly condemned, as not fair to the Liberal Party.

OCTOBER 29, LEEDS.—A good sermon in church. The parson told us of a little girl who came begging to him, saying it cost £30,000 to convert a Jew. She had 2½d. And of a French epitaph: "He was born a man and died a grocer."

OCTOBER 30.—Lady Ribblesdale came to Leeds with Asquith. Reggie and I met them. She dined with the Reggies and then all of us to hear Asquith. Had a talk with Lady Ribblesdale and supper after.

OCTOBER 31.—To London.

NOVEMBER 1.—Saw Knollys; a talk about Coburg; he does not think the Duke should have anything.

NOVEMBER 2.—A long talk with J. Morley, who brought bad news of Parnellite doings in Ireland. A long talk with Mr. Gladstone and E. Marjoribanks on the Session, which Mr. Gladstone thought would be light for him.

The Coburg difficulty—the K.G.—the dissolution in autumn on the new registration.

Many Liberals would vote for contracting out of Employers' Liability Bill, and Welby says everybody down to the N.W.R. must do so, but Asquith is firm.

NOVEMBER 3.—A bad account of Sir Andrew Clark. Mr. Gladstone had heard rumours as to his losses in Australian banks being £50,000 !

When Mr. Gladstone recommended Dr. Jacobson, who had been for years Regius Professor, etc., Lord Palmerston said he would be happy to appoint the son of Isaac to the Chester Bishopric.

As to Stansfeld's motion on the Indian Contagious Diseases Act, Mr. Gladstone said Peel always refused to condemn the action of the Government in the Afghan misfortunes after he came into office.

W. Ridgeway had neither accepted nor declined the Isle of Man appointment. Balfour had advised acceptance ; he said Lady Cromer had told him that Cromer was too ill to remain in Egypt.

Alfred Milner called. He said Cromer wanted to go to Constantinople and was now perfectly well !!

NOVEMBER 4.—A long talk with A. Morley and Edward Marjoribanks about Government business. I think Mr. Gladstone cares less about it than ever, and that appears to me to be the beginning of the end.

Herschell's delay about appointment of J.P.s is provoking.

Rosebery, I hear, is not in a good humour, but I have not seen him yet.

Lady Lanerton, with whom we had passed so many happy days at Woolbeding, died yesterday : another link with the past gone.<sup>1</sup>

A long Cabinet from 12 to 2.30. John Morley came in and told me the Lord Mayor's dinner had taken ten minutes, South Africa five. Settled not to give Stansfeld

<sup>1</sup> Lady Lanerton, wife of first Lord Lanerton, daughter of Hon. George Ponsonby, was hostess at Woolbeding, near Midhurst, a country place of famous beauty and historic interest, the seat of Lord Robert Spencer, a frequent resort of Fox and the leading Whigs.

a day. Fowler funkcd at last minute to propose delaying Employers' Liability Bill; decided not to give Coburg anything. Harcourt began with a proposal for ten or five thousand, but veered round. Acland strong against, supported by Morley and Asquith. Mundella and G. Lefevre fenced. J. Morley told me about West Ridgeway, whose pride was hurt by Isle of Man; he was angry with Tories and Balfour, who, he said, had no imagination and no sympathy and would do nothing for him. I contended that he should take Isle of Man. J. Morley said if he did not, *he* could not stay at Dublin, which I argued against.

NOVEMBER 5.—To Chapel Royal. All altered since the Connaught marriage.

Spencer came to us and said he had had his interview with the Duke of Edinburgh about his position as Admiral; he had strongly objected, but had no choice. Spencer thought it was rather mean the Cabinet giving him nothing.

Saw Lady Ripon. Very strong against Chartered Company.

Dined at Lady F. Marjoribanks'. Duchess of Marlborough, Labouchere, Jenner, Harcourts, also Randolph Churchill, looking very ill, but he cheered up after dinner and spoke about his arrangement<sup>1</sup> with Parnell that no Coercion Bill should be produced, that Land Bill should. But Home Rule was not mentioned. He and Labby and Harcourt all talked at once. Randolph Churchill thought that in our day we should never see a recrudescence of Fenianism and outrage; Harcourt that we should, that it was still alive in America. Asquith thought so too. Randolph Churchill promised not to oppose Harcourt's 1894 Budget, as it would be his last. Sat with him and E. Marjoribanks and Lady Fanny late smoking.

NOVEMBER 6.—Trouble with Rosebery about Coburg.

To City—things very black. To Ripon about Matabeleland; he and I were very strong against the Company's having control.

To J. Morley about W. Ridgeway. Saw some daylight as to his going to Isle of Man.

<sup>1</sup> When Salisbury Government came in.

G. Lefevre told me Selborne was spreading stories that Stanmore had taken his peerage absolutely unfettered, and that Mr. Gladstone had forced him to vote on Home Rule !

Lefevre had taken his name off the Society of Friends of Prussia. Mr. Gladstone did not think a minister should belong to any society dealing with foreign politics.

Welby told me of a young lady visiting a French church, and not liking to walk about while others prayed she knelt down in a side chapel where three or four other women were kneeling. Soon the beadle came up and said :

“ Three francs, Madame.”

“ Why ? ” said she.

“ Because it was service ‘ de grace ’ ” (Churching).

“ Oh, but,” she said, “ I am not married.”

“ Oh, in that case,” said the official, “ c’est six francs ! ”

Had a long talk with Lady Ribblesdale yesterday ; much about memoirs and what mine would be like. I think badly of them because my memory and time are deficient.

Telegram from Scotch miners asking for Government intervention in the coal strike. I suggested that Rosebery was going to Scotland on Friday and might see what he could do, but Mr. G. sent it to Mundella as it was in strictness a Board of Trade matter.

Mr. Gladstone told me he was going along the street when an altercation was proceeding between a cabman and his fare. The cabman said : “ There’s Mr. Gladstone, let him settle it ! ” but the fare objected. I said Rosebery should have been there, which I don’t think he quite liked !

Saw Ripon on Matabeleland ; found him very stiff against the Chartered Company, as I was.

NOVEMBER 7.—A long discourse from Kimberley on the wickedness of not making Lansdowne a K.G. Then again to John Morley.

NOVEMBER 10.—A long talk over Asquith’s proposal for a hybrid committee to inquire into the facts of the coal strike. Mr. Gladstone did not like the hybrid, and talked of Stansfeld as Chairman. Then discussed Herschell’s position on J.P.s, which is incomprehensible. E. Marjori-

banks says the feeling against him is very serious. Mr. Gladstone said Labby had helped the Company<sup>1</sup> by his silly attack on it last night. His only service to the party this year was his joke about "Mr. Apollinaris" in Chaplin's speech.

John Morley came and was against the proposal connected with Stansfeld. The Ridgeway business not yet settled; more small difficulties cropping up daily.

NOVEMBER 13.—A talk on Coburg and Africa. A Cabinet on coal strike. Rosebery to be chairman of an inquiry. A long talk with H. Ponsonby on Coburg, and suggested the Duke's writing a letter renouncing the annuities but asking for enough (£10,000 ?) to keep up his position and life at Clarence House, where he intends to reside three months in the year. The Duke of Coburg told Henry Ponsonby that Mr. Gladstone felt his leaving the Navy, and in consequence had not slept all night. When I got back I found the paper about the Duke's resignation, which Mr. Gladstone had not yet seen. How is history written!

NOVEMBER 14.—To the city. Owners and miners accept Conference under Rosebery, which is good.

NOVEMBER 15.—To Guildford for Liberal Association's meeting and a rush to catch the train back to a great dinner at Harcourt's. Sat next Madame de Stael, who was, oh, so dull! Spencer told me of an interview with Harcourt at the Admiralty on the Estimates. We were well off as far as warships went, but lamentably below the French in torpedo boats; we had now torpedo vessels which could steam thirty miles an hour!

NOVEMBER 16.—An amusing letter from Storey, M.P., about an honour for Colonel Gourley,<sup>2</sup> and in which he gave his views on honours in general. Things going well in House of Commons. Had luncheon at Admiralty with Spencer, where I used to have luncheon with the Grahams forty years ago.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Labouchere had moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the "impolicy of permitting the Chartered Company of South Africa to establish any claim . . . to the territory or government of Matabeleland."

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Edward, M.P. for Sunderland, 1898-1900.

NOVEMBER 17.—Henry Ponsonby gave me a draft of the proposed letter of the Duke of Coburg to Mr. Gladstone. It was supposed to be only for me. I read it to Mr. Gladstone. He thought it good and wished me to show it to Harcourt, who told me it was written by Henry James. I returned it to H. Ponsonby saying *I* thought it good. This committed nobody.

NOVEMBER 18.—A capital letter on the magistracy written by Mr. Gladstone to Storey. A court bother about an appointment of Trevelyan's.

NOVEMBER 20.—Breadalbane to be K.G. Induced Mr. Gladstone to allow me to offer Kimberley a G.C.B. for Lansdowne, which Kimberley considered insufficient.

The Coburg affair marches well. I wish the letter had been written sooner.

Duke of York's visit to Dublin. Prince of Wales will do what he can.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PAUL MALL, S.W., *November 20, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—As you know, the Prince of Wales thinks it would be a very good thing for the Duke of York to go to Ireland in the spring and to receive the Patrick in Dublin, but there is the Queen to be considered !! I am writing to H. Ponsonby now, by the Prince's desire, to tell him what took place at Sandringham with Houghton on the subject, and to say that H.R.H. entirely concurs with the view which he (Houghton) takes of the matter, and to ask whether H.M. will give her sanction to the Duke of York receiving the Patrick and to the proposed visit.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

I of course will let you know what Ponsonby says as soon as I hear from him.

*From Rt. Hon. John Morley*

95 ELM PARK GARDENS, S.W., *November 20, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—You are the very best friend that ever was known. I shall not forget the boundless trouble that you have given yourself about this most tiresome business. But for you, I really believe there

would have been a good chance of serious mischief. You may depend upon my writing to Mr. G.—how different from some other people !

I don't know where Sir West is. Not, I hope, on the high seas, nor at the bottom thereof. My only fear is lest, having seen the place, he should, at the eleventh hour, shy.

Ever yours, J. M.

(The following two letters refer to the same subject :)

WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 22, 1893.*

MY DEAR KNOLLYS,—The Queen says that considering the feeling about Home Rule and the conduct of Lord Houghton himself, the Queen does not wish the Duke of York to go to Ireland.

Her Majesty can give him St. Patrick on his birthday.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 24, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I did not get your letter till after Mr. G. had gone to the Queen. After that I did not mention Ireland. You will have seen by my letter to Knollys that the subject is rather a prickly one. I don't know what the question in the Commons is to be. Are they going to buy him a house in Ireland ? Where ? Answer—Parnell's House ? And to give it him with conditions of living there ?

As to the Patrick, the Queen says she will give it to him, but she cannot force him to live a certain time in Ireland.

The visit yesterday was a most successful one. They went off early this morning to see chrysanthemums ; and Equerry—Gardner—a blatant Tory, made Mr. Gladstone a present of the *Daily News* and *Morning Chronicle* as he got into the train.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *November 24, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—Many thanks for your note. I am sending it to Lord Houghton, who is in England.

Punchestown Races take place at the end of April, and

that would probably be the best time for the D. of York to come over, if he contemplates a visit. I had not heard that such an event was in contemplation, but I think it would be an excellent move if it could be brought about.

I hope you will keep sufficiently free from engagements in the spring to come over here for a short time. The place looks its best in May, and as Whitsuntide falls early next year I hope we may look forward to seeing you then.

Yours very sincerely, HERBERT JEKYLL.

NOVEMBER 22.—Read a letter from Monson saying that the anti-French feeling was dying out in Alsace and Lorraine, which were being rapidly Germanized. Mr. Gladstone thought this might lead to Germany and France joining in an attack on Belgium and Holland. He went on to praise Henry Ponsonby, and I said he was lucky in having two such men as Henry Ponsonby and Knollys. "Yes," he said, "there are some men who are born to help others and others to oppose in everything."

Talked of Duke of Coburg and of Harcourt's change of front as to the necessity of a Bill, and the Law Officer's view of alienation. When Palmerston said an opinion of Westbury's put him in a difficulty, Westbury said, "It is your fault, you did not tell me what opinion you wanted."

NOVEMBER 23.—Edward Marjoribanks brought rather an alarming account of the House of Commons' opinion of the state of the Navy; and on having luncheon at the Admiralty, Spencer told me how serious the state of things was, and our terrible lack of torpedo boats.

Saw Rosebery. He thought Egerton an excellent Lord-Lieutenant and hoped some Surrey magistrates would be put on the Bench soon; he had snubbed the idea of W. Ridgeway for Morocco, which had been suggested.

NOVEMBER 30.—Discussed honours and question of Elgin's private secretary with Mr. Gladstone and Harcourt. Saw Rosebery, who was anxious about Sanderson; he saw my difficulty, but said the K.C.B. was the only thing worth having, and that Sanderson would gladly give up the K.C.M.G.



## CHAPTER XIV

1893

### THE TURN OF THE YEAR

DECEMBER 1.—A long discussion on public business and whether or not there should be Saturday sittings; also Fowler's memo on Unemployed.

Mr. Gladstone told me that in his early days the Peers were never summoned to Saturday Cabinets. Went to South Hill with Mr. Gladstone, who spoke of Bright having once said when in office, "I am not a Radical, but I sometimes have communications with them." Acton and F. Leveson-Gower were of the party. Mrs. Gladstone did not come.

DECEMBER 2.—A lovely frosty day. Mr. Gladstone planted a tree on the lawn. His contemporary, Mr. E. Hamilton, came to see him. Talking of Lord Brougham, Mr. Gladstone said how he had softened in old age, only hating Campbell and Westbury.

Discussed Navy scares, etc. Went to Sir G. Dasent's, but could not see him, he being too ill, I am sorry to say. He will be a great social loss to many of us—

Is he gone to the land of no laughter,  
The man who made mirth for us all?

Mr. Gladstone spoke most strongly of the charm of Lord Clarendon as a colleague. Mutual disarmament was proposed in 1870. France agreed, but Bismarck refused. Cavour was never really a believer in taking Rome. There is now a movement there for restoration of Papal power. Garibaldi—his extraordinary popularity. Shaftesbury was proposed by Palmerston for Cabinet in 1884, but Lansdowne refused his admission positively. Talked of the effect of flattery on men as compared with women—men could swallow more. Houghton complimented the Mayor

of Cork on his wine. "Oh," he said, "it is nothing to what I have in my cellar!"

We talked about Melbourne, whom Mr. Gladstone thought handsome. Then about Duke and Duchess of Argyll, who behaved very oddly to the Pope at Rome in 1866. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Clarendon, and Cardwell there together. The Pope said he understood and liked Clarendon, liked but did not understand Mr. Gladstone; understood but did not like Cardwell, and did not like or understand Argyll. Acland, as illustrating the ignorance of people living out of the world, told us of an old school-fellow of Thiers' who on meeting him asked what he had been doing: "J'ai été ministre." "Protestant?" said his friend.

DECEMBER 4.—Up from South Hill. Bad news of John Morley; none of Zadok,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone's valet, who was missing. Saw Houghton about Duke of York. Her Majesty was opposed to my proposal of Sanderson resigning his K.C.M.G. on getting grant of a K.C.B. Wrote to Rosebery, asking him to press it.

COBURG, *December 5, 1893.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—The Duke of Coburg has asked me to write and say that there seems to have been a misinterpretation of his telegram to Mr. Gladstone yesterday which referred to a pending interpellation in the Reichstag, not in the House of Commons; but as it was evident from Mr. Gladstone's reply that there was no objection to an announcement of the Duke's resignation of his membership of the Privy Council, H.R.H. has caused a communiqué to that effect (i.e. his resignation) to be inserted in the Coburg Official Gazette this morning. In haste to catch the post, which is just leaving.

I remain, sincerely yours, A. CONDIE STEPHEN.

DECEMBER 6.—Saw J. Morley, who looked very ill, off from Charing Cross to Cannes; had a little talk about the "Christian Brethren" and the state of things in general. He said, as we parted, "Pray for me."

<sup>1</sup> He was afterwards found drowned in the Thames.

Found a letter from Cook, of the *Westminster Gazette*, asking as to the truth of a statement in the *St. James's* that Mr. Gladstone was going to publish a translation of Horace in prose; discussed with Mr. Gladstone the answer to be given, which I took to Cook, as follows:

Statement in *St. James's G.* full of errors.

Some time before the formation of the present Govt., I found that my power of reading, of which I had been accustomed greatly to rely in disposing of odds and ends of views, was gradually declining. In consequence I occasionally turned my mind to translating Odes of Horace (not into verse), with which I was partially familiar and which gave little work to the eye. This practice I have continued simply as a substitute for another of long standing. But I have no literary plan or publication in view.

This is not information from me to the public, but is what the Editor (if he likes) has "some reason to believe."

W. E. G., Dec. 6. 93.

DECEMBER 7.—Read a long memo, a parting gift of John Morley's on the "Christian Brothers,"<sup>1</sup> putting the case as for advice from members of the Cabinet, and I asked Mr. Gladstone to put his opinion down on the various alternatives given by John Morley. He would only put, "My mind is the same with John Morley!" Talked about Zadok; it is sometimes very difficult to make out his views. Having a horror of drunkenness, he now looks on it, in Zadok's case, as nothing.

A deed of renunciation of £15,000 was sent for Duke of Coburg's signature.

A conversation on honours asked for by Kimberley for Indian Service.

2.30. A deputation of temperance people; Harcourt made a good speech.

The Government are like African explorers, having to face forests, swamps, and the spears of the pygmies.

<sup>1</sup> A religious sect whose appeal seems to have disturbed John Morley a good deal. Mr. Gladstone declined to pay it the slightest attention.

A box for Mr. Gladstone containing a letter from Her Majesty, to be read to the Cabinet, on increase of Navy and Army. Cabinet summoned for 12 to-morrow.

DECEMBER 8.—Mr. Gladstone ill.

The subject of increased Navy Estimates is a thorny one, for Mr. Gladstone said the other day he thought it was best to refuse fresh expenditure, etc., resign, and go to the country on it—and what a smash it would be ! but little does Mr. Gladstone think how the people love expenditure but hate paying for it !

Rosebery says that the Queen knows a Naval Scheme is preparing and writes to say the Government had been apathetic, but she had stirred them up.

DECEMBER 9.—Mr. Gladstone quite well, having slept seven hours without a break. Angry with the Lords over "Employers' Liability Bill" ; he said they were a public nuisance. I took him a letter from Mather, asking for a knighthood for one L——, who, though not legally liable, had made over £300,000 to Birmingham and Manchester in accordance with what he considered his uncle's wishes. "So," said Mr. Gladstone, "you would make him a knight for not committing a gross fraud." I told him I did not agree, but it is a specimen of how odd his views are at one time and another about conduct.

Mr. Gladstone to Brighton.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *December 9, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Much obliged for all your letters putting me up to all the movements of Mr. G.

I don't believe he is much the worse—but feeling full of beans he has gone off for a lark.

The Queen says it is all the fault of the Parish Councils. It is enough to account for the illness of Mr. Morley, C.-Bannerman, and Bobby Spencer.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

HÔTEL MÉTROPOLE,<sup>1</sup> MONTE CARLO, *December 12, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—We have had five days of most divine sunshine—open windows—breakfast on the terrace—quite

<sup>1</sup> This and the next two from Mr. John Morley on the Riviera may as well be read in sequence!

celestial. Now we have a touch of rain. I feel better; tho' no giant.

Surely the Government bark is labouring rather heavily?

What became of my Cabinet memo of which I spoke to you at Charing Cross? Have you any answers?

To-night I dine at Lady Wilton's, where Randolph is staying.

Xtopher Sykes<sup>1</sup> is to be the other guest—so we shall be very intellectual, you may be sure.

I don't know how long I stay here—but (?) will always have my address.

I wish you were here.

Ever yours, J. MORLEY.

HÔTEL MÉTROPOLE, MONTE CARLO, *December 16, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Many thanks for your very graphic speech. It brings much before my mind's eye. 'Tis not a cheerful outlook. The only comfort is that such a situation cannot last so very long, and as for holding out until 1895, I don't believe it can be done.

As you say, my colleagues show little light on my Xtian Brothers. I rather wonder that Bryce and Mundella have said nothing. But it will keep, I daresay.

You speak of a letter from Mr. G. If you mean something beyond the few words on the memo, it has not reached me, but it may to-night.

On *Tuesday* we think of moving on to

Prince de Galles Hotel,

Cannes.

Such a day here!

Ever yours, J. M.

CANNES, *December 24, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—It is really very kind of you to remember my poor birthday. It gives me lively pleasure to have such friendly news from you, and I trust the same very pleasant relations will go on unbroken for such span of years, short or long, as the future may have in store for the pair of us.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Sykes. It is to be feared that "intellectual" is "writ sarcastic." Mr. Sykes was a sportsman and an owner of racehorses, well known in circles rather remote from those which Mr. Morley frequented.

We leave for home to-morrow, to my infinite sorrow, I assure you. But I am much better, and have no excuse for shirking any longer. I shall reach London on Tuesday night, and shall go to the H. of C. on Wedy., like my betters.

If there is any talk of a Cabinet—a very absurd notion, I admit—you might mention that important business will take me over to Ireland on Thursday night, and keep me there for two days.

The book which you have sent me, and for which I thank you, I already possess. So I shall get another instead, and get you to write my name in.

Ever yours, JOHN MORLEY.

DECEMBER 13.—Cabinet summoned for to-morrow on Navy. Harcourt thinks G. Hamilton's<sup>1</sup> motion should be treated as a question of want of confidence. Mr. Gladstone agrees.

DECEMBER 14.—A Cabinet on G. Hamilton's motion on the state of the Navy. Spencer says the Board will resign if the money they want is not provided, and Spencer asks for more already than Harcourt will give. Harcourt showed me all his figures, which make it appear we have an immense superiority in big ships over France and Russia combined; he is for announcing this, Spencer is against. Cabinet settled to treat George Hamilton's motion as a vote of want of confidence. Saw Rosebery, who was full of Mr. Gladstone's ageing, in which I am very much inclined to agree. Discussed how his retirement could come about; he wished it had been in 1880, or that it had taken place when the Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Gladstone wrote a long letter to J. Morley, clearly shadowing out reduction in expenditure for Navy, and complaining that he got no support in the Cabinet. I fear he does not realise what everybody else does, the necessity of expenditure, even if it were only for torpedo catchers, which Harcourt even is prepared for.

Welby, Acton, Mrs. Sands, and Asquith dined; very

<sup>1</sup> Lord George Hamilton had been First Lord of Admiralty, 1886-92.

pleasant and agreeable. Napoleon *intime*, Marie Antoinette from a Royalist view, Wolfe Tone were discussed. Asquith spoke of someone having said: "L'homme a l'âge des sentiments qu'il éprouve, et la femme celui des sentiments qu'elle inspire." Politically Asquith was very hopeful, and at his age he ought to be.

The Lords had offended the Scotch by rejecting the Fishery Bill, the rural population by maiming, if not rejecting, Parish Councils Bill, Labour by rejecting Employers' Liability Bill, to say nothing of Home Rule Bill. Welby shrewdly pointed to the difficulty of focussing all the points, and feared that Labour might care only for its own ends, heedless as to which side they came from.

Acton and Welby stayed till 12 o'clock.

DECEMBER 15.—Mr. Gladstone looking better, Zadok's inquest being over—which had distressed him.

A very bad cold, but dined with Welby to meet Jack,<sup>1</sup> Loulou, and Acton, which cured it. Acton's admiration of Burke and Thiers very strong.

DECEMBER 16.—Coburg renunciation signed, and a letter to go to the Duke accepting his offer to give up £15,000 and take £10,000.

Spencer agrees to issuing a memo on our Naval strength. Harcourt begs it may be previously submitted to Mr. Gladstone and him.

Spencer came on the Navy matter, which is all the more unpleasant for him as his Board are anxious for £5,000,000, whilst he is not for so much, and Harcourt is for torpedo catchers only, Mr. Gladstone agreeing.

Took Spencer up to Mr. Gladstone, who really did not care, *more suo*, about it, but talked in a melancholy vein about economy now dead, eyesight, and eventualities. I think the time is fast approaching when he should retire. Told Spencer so.

DECEMBER 17.—At Downing Street on Coburg letters.

DECEMBER 18.—Took up a letter of H. Ponsonby's from the Queen, saying that the Navy question should not be a party one. I said it should have been written to

<sup>1</sup> "Jack" Tennant, son of Sir Charles, at that time Asquith's private secretary.

Arthur Balfour. Mr. Gladstone said it was written by the Leader of the Opposition. I then summoned up my courage and said I did not think he was sufficiently aware how widespread the feeling on the question was; that Spencer, in a very long talk with me yesterday, said his Board would retire if they did not get the millions they required, and he would have to resign too, and I also said that while venturing to agree entirely with him in his views, which were now old-fashioned, I hoped he would not, for the sake of a few millions, throw over Ireland. He said, "I can do nothing more for Ireland." I said, "Yes, sir, you can; you can never face another election, but you can put Home Rule before the country at a dissolution and get the verdict of the country on it once and for all on your authority." He said perhaps he did not care so much, if the country wished it, to spend the millions, but he could not permit the whole system of paying off the National Debt to be abandoned.

Then Fowler on his Parochial Bill: tiresome.

E. Marjoribanks, who told us of R. Fergusson's declining to vote; he could not count on the Parnellites, and his majority might be twenty.

Saw Rosebery and told him of my conversation with Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone writes: "I withdraw my objections in the Cabinet, having heard more," etc., etc.

Saw Spencer, who was equally pleased.

DECEMBER 19.—Saw Spencer again on Admiralty questions and discussed his position with his Board, which is behaving badly to him, not recognizing the necessity of give and take in all things in this world.

Rosebery writes strongly to Mr. Gladstone and E. Marjoribanks, and I back him up in saying that we are not going to be stingy about the Navy.

DECEMBER 21.—A great Government triumph, and Asquith's—62.

E. Marjoribanks said Rosebery was angry about Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Navy. He was very "jingo," and was hurt at Mr. Gladstone not having answered his letter, which must be nonsense because he always told



me he took it as a good sign if he did not answer him.

Read Portal's clever report on Uganda.

Discussed and settled some honours.

Saw Spencer, who told me that the bother between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Admiralty Board had been arranged. Saw Rosebery, who told me he was glad Mr. Gladstone had not at once written in answer to his letter; now, however, he had written at E. Marjoribanks' suggestion, he wanted to consult me as to his answer, which he wanted to put on record. I said, "Don't answer it at all," and he agreed, but said yesterday he was furious at Mr. Gladstone neglecting his advice in his speech. I told him he ought to be thankful for what he had got; that Mr. Gladstone was now quite prepared to spend money, but he wanted him to proclaim it before the time. He could hardly expect that. And then I had read Portal's report to him with praising remarks and he was quite pleased, but the difficulty seemed to be with the Company, with which he agreed. Talked again of Mr. Gladstone's age. I said that in Elizabeth's time the Lord Treasurer, Lord Winchester, was older! and now we were within visible time of the end next autumn. E. Marjoribanks had asked Rosebery to speak at the great Liberal Federation at Southampton, but he had declined as he disagreed with Mr. Gladstone on Navy, Uganda, Egypt, Ireland, etc. He is not very loyal to Mr. Gladstone, as Lord Granville told me years ago would be the case.

Philip Currie, if appointed to Constantinople, would be a loss to him as a man of the world, and he should always be expecting to find Sanderson cleaning the door-step, as he wanted to do everything—a great mistake.

A charming dinner at Lady Ribblesdale's. Asquith fresh from his triumph on Labourers' Employment Bill, but very sore at the Duke of Edinburgh's £10,000, which I and Lady Ribblesdale justified. That, he said, was about the worst thing the Government had done, but the loyalty of the party was splendid. Accrington held by a reduced majority.

DECEMBER 22.—A talk about Rosebery and his letter. Mr. Gladstone thinks him a jingo and after the Royalty debate thinks it is time for him, Mr. G., to go ; so it is, but not quite yet, he must await the dissolution of 1894. So say I, and so said I.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *December 30, 1893.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I heard quite by accident this morning that Kimberley thought that Prinsep's knighthood had been approved, and had telegraphed accordingly to India, where it was to have been announced on Monday morning. I told the India Office people that, as far as I knew, they had no authority for doing this ; that in any case the Queen had not approved ; and that they must therefore stop any public announcement until they heard again from us.

What is to be done ?

I have not said anything to Mr. G. about it.

The Opposition are to have till Monday afternoon to consider our proposal for a compromise on the Parish Councils Bill. If they refuse (which Marjoribanks thinks most likely) the new guillotine will be proposed on Tuesday. Its operation is calculated to get the Bill through Committee by the 19th.

The Admiralty's demands seem to be getting more moderate, but I think Harcourt will have to find £4,000,000 more in taxes next year.

Yours ever, J. M.

## CHAPTER XV

1894

### MR. GLADSTONE AND THE NAVAL ESTIMATES

JANUARY 1894.—A very long talk with Rosebery at the Foreign Office, which ended by his saying, “ You are ever welcome here, and I am always ready to dismiss any ambassador for you ! ”

JANUARY 3.—Affairs connected with the Navy again become critical. Mr. Gladstone told me that the night before, Harcourt was saying Spencer was most weak and most obstinate. I said I entirely disagreed, and that Spencer’s difficulties with his Board were not sufficiently taken into consideration. Mr. Gladstone shared my opinion about Spencer, but said that the Board of Admiralty must understand that the First Lord alone was responsible for the estimates. I said, no doubt the principle was correct, but that at this moment the Board were well aware that they had public opinion with them.

Then Mr. Gladstone spoke of what the effect on foreign countries would be, for he believed that they would look upon this increase as an act of defiance, and it would end in a race towards bankruptcy with all the Powers of Europe.

Later on I had a long talk with Spencer, who was very anxious to meet Mr. Gladstone as far as he could. Then with Acland, who had heard of all that was taking place from Asquith, and was much alarmed. They had telegraphed to John Morley to come to town. I gave Acland a little comfort as to the chances of the crisis blowing over, but I think it anxious work.

Spencer came, rather worn after a long interview with Mr. Gladstone, and thinking the crisis very grave. He was under the impression that Harcourt was backing

Mr. Gladstone. Spencer wished me to go and see what I could do with Rosebery. I went to the Foreign Office, but found Harcourt there, so departed.

JANUARY 4.—Mr. Gladstone on the Navy again, and on Spencer’s Estimates, which were “approximate”—a word Mr. Gladstone shied at. He then told me that it was impossible for him to stay beyond the end of the Session. I urged him to remain till the Dissolution, and said how opinion all round was in favour of increased Naval expenditure. He denied this, but said it was, of course, a matter of controversy, but he could not stultify the work of his life by adopting what he looked upon as militarism, which he had always resolutely and effectively opposed, and by which he had obtained such confidence as he possessed. I said he must consider other things, in my eyes more important—such as Ireland. “I can do nothing more,” he said; “I told Davitt, Sexton, and Dillon I could not hope to see Home Rule accomplished in my time.” I said I did not dispute that, but he might hasten it if he stayed till the Dissolution and then recommended it to the country. He said even if it was delayed some years, that was better than militarism. He then said, with much pathos—“If only for a short time you would take on you my eyesight and my hearing you would know how impossible it is for me to stay on.” And then I fired my last shot by saying, “Well, at any rate there is no immediate hurry to come to a decision,” to which he assented, and here is the last hope.

Then he went on—“These periods of excitement are very distressing, for in my interview with Harcourt I broke one pair of glasses, and in my interview with Spencer another pair, and then lost a third!”

Though nothing could exceed Spencer’s charm of manner and temper, I wish he would try and follow the course of the Naval Defence Act and begin at a smaller outlay, and increase gradually.

To Rosebery’s. Began to talk on the crisis, when Asquith came, and I went over it all with them both, saying my main object was to so arrange that Mr. Gladstone might, in falling, wrap his cloak round him with

decorum and regard to his reputation; that my idea was that the time was not now, nor the subject a proper one for his retirement, and unless they agreed heartily on this it was no good our discussing it. They both said they *entirely* agreed with me. I then told them what had passed, and said my only hope was that in the coming week they might put before Mr. Gladstone their views, not at formal, but at social meetings; they should get him to dinner.

Rosebery fell back on his old grievance about the way Mr. Gladstone had treated his letter in his Navy speech, etc. I told him that he must forget it, and work for the present object of his not going now, which Asquith said would be a crime.

Had great hopes of J. Morley, as Rosebery said, who would agree with him, which gave him his power. I said that I *entirely* agreed in principle with Mr. Gladstone, but that the occasion demanded a sacrifice to save the more important measures.

Asquith took me to Spencer's, who I found happier than last night, and in some hopes of reducing his first year's estimates, which we discussed.

To luncheon at E. Marjoribanks. Randolph Churchill there, who said: "What would you recommend in such a financial position as Harcourt's?"

I said "Re-arrangement of Death Duties and a graduated House Duty." He agreed.

He promised that there should never be another Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland!

Chaffed about Asquith and J. Morley being such violent partisans. I asked him if he had ever heard of the Gracchi?

He said Austen Chamberlain had told him his father hoped the Lords would throw out the Employers' Liability Bill, and that he had said, "Tell your father if they do, I will *not* stand for Bradford, for I should not have a chance!"

JANUARY 5.—Mr. Gladstone in very good spirits; I did not know why, whether from thinking things were better or only that he had come to a decision.

Did not talk of the Navy, but about Dean of Ely, Lansdowne and a K.G., dukes, etc.

Spencer came in and J. Morley, very low.

Heard on my return from the city that Spencer and J. Morley were in better spirits. But a letter from Spencer saying he would concede £1,000,000 instead of £3,000,000 looked bad.

Rosebery sent for me. I frightened him by my view of the situation.

JANUARY 8.—Mr. Gladstone did not come up till 3 o'clock.

Saw Rosebery and had a long talk on the situation, which I thought graver than ever, after seeing another letter from Mr. Gladstone to John Morley, saying that it was a question of principle and opposition to Militarism. Rosebery still believes in its passing away, as the Uganda and Egypt crises did. But I tried to make him see that in those cases Mr. Gladstone was angry and argumentative, and that when he cooled down he became more amenable to persuasion, but in this crisis he was quiet and pathetic. He saw something in this, but repeated that there was a determination on the part of the Cabinet to say Mr. Gladstone must go *now*, or not at all.

Lord Ripon writes :

9 CHELSEA EMBANKMENT, S.W., *January 8, 1894.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I have heard a good deal of what is going on about the Navy Estimates, but there are one or two points upon which I should like to be better informed before the Cabinet to-morrow. I am still confined to the house, though I mean to attend the Cabinet. I dislike asking anyone to come out in such weather, but still, if you could look in on me *any* time to-day it would be very good of you and I should be most grateful.

At present I do not see how I am to do otherwise than support Spencer, but I am going to read his memorandum over again carefully this morning and to put it to all the tests I can.

Nothing can be more painful to me than the idea of taking sides against Mr. G. on such a question as this,

and of course I shall go to the Cabinet with my mind completely open to give every weight to the arguments against Spencer's proposals. But on so serious a matter one must at least give one's opinion according to the best judgment one can form, whatever it may be.

Yours ever, RIPON.

Went down to Ripon, who was laid up; told him Mr. Gladstone did not wish him to come to-morrow, also all the story of the crisis. Spencer came in and we went over it all again. Mr. Gladstone intends to-morrow's Cabinet to be provisional; but the position is intolerable—that Mr. Gladstone should make his views known, keep them secret from the Queen and the public, go to Biarritz, and then resign in February, just when Parliament is meeting, with no programme for a new Government. Things look worse than ever, and I am bitterly disappointed. It throws over Ireland, his party, and everything.

Had a letter from Edward Hamilton saying I had said Mr. Gladstone should stay and fight the Lords—it is so foreign to all I have thought and said, that it is impossible that I should ever have said so.

JANUARY 9.—Saw Edward Marjoribanks—John and Arnold Morley—and discussed the sad position. We are all agreed, but I went further and said they should contemplate Mr. Gladstone remaining in Parliament and denouncing Militarism, which is possible—but this they would not admit.

John Morley says Balfour will go any lengths in supporting him in spending money on the Navy.

Saw Arnold Morley and Ripon after the Cabinet. As far as I could gather, Mr. Gladstone made a speech of an hour against Militarism, ending with the state of his eyesight.

Harcourt spoke rather roughly, abusing Admiralty and implying if it was to be, that Mr. Gladstone should resign at once rather than postpone it. Mr. Gladstone turned round and said, "Of course I can go at once if you wish it." (Sensation.) Then silence, and after a pause Rose-

bery, supported by Asquith, asked for a decision. Mr. Gladstone deprecated discussion, and said it was for them to settle whether or no there was to be a Cabinet—he said it was for them to settle! Oh! Oh! Oh!

Posterity will say that he destroyed his party by proposing Home Rule, and that for the second time he destroyed it by abandoning it, and postponing for years a settlement. And it is for this that I have slaved for nearly two years!!

JANUARY 10.—John Morley came this morning to advise, as I understand, that Mr. Gladstone should go to Biarritz on Saturday, and write to Her Majesty from there.

This, I imagine, he refused.

I was getting up precedents for late estimates, etc., all day. It appeared that the Cabinet knew little of Parliamentary history, etc. I quoted 1848 as a year when large expenditure was proposed by Lord John Russell, and withdrawn.

Welby strongly urged my going to Biarritz, as being essential to curbing Mr. Gladstone's writing.

Saw Rosebery, who told me he had been an hour with Mr. Gladstone and had used all the weapons in his armoury: Mr. Gladstone's reputation; the sacrifice the Liberal Party had made that he might be spared all work; the difficulty of carrying on a Government without him; "but," said Rosebery, "I might as well have addressed my arguments to your hat. If I had told him that we were all to be stricken with leprosy, he would not have cared."

I then told him what Welby had said about my going to Biarritz, but I said I would only go at Mr. Gladstone's distinct request. He said he hardly had a right to make such a demand on me, but that I should be of immense use; that he despaired of my altering Mr. Gladstone's mind, but that I could stop letter-writing, and at any rate they could all communicate with me, and I could tell them how things were. He then was rather pathetic and said, "After all the sacrifices you have made you will like hereafter to have been with him to the last. If Chatham had had such a *fidus Achates* it might have changed the history of his administration."



Spencer Lyttelton met me and said he was at tea when Mr. Gladstone came in, ashy pale, and later he turned to his family and said in a solemn voice: "All you have to do is to go on exactly the same as heretofore for the next five weeks."

In talking over Mr. Gladstone's retirement with Welby, I urged him to consider whether he should not also retire, on a peerage, which I took for granted Mr. Gladstone would offer him. He promised to weigh it, and said, of course, there was not a man in the Cabinet who would not think I should have anything I asked for. I thought a Privy Councillorship, leaving a peerage for future consideration, if I lived.

Proposed a visit to Biarritz to Armitstead, who dined with us.

JANUARY 11.—Mr. Gladstone said: "You know all about the state of affairs?"

I said: "I am sorry to say I do."

"Sorry," he said. "You would not counsel my accepting this proposal—this proposal, which is mad? M A D—mad. No statesman that ever lived, perhaps excepting Palmerston, would have given way. It is the Admirals that have got their knife into me. Read my letter to Spencer. I have now learned that he has adopted his Admirals' proposals for this year—his reductions only being for the future."

He then proposed writing to the Archbishop,<sup>1</sup> saying in great ecclesiastical patronage he must look partly to politics. I begged him not to give an enemy such an opportunity of blaspheming, and he consented.

When Edward Marjoribanks came in he began saying it was the Admirals that were beating him.

I asked Mr. Gladstone if he would have another Cabinet; he said, "No, if he had, that would force a decision!"

Edward Marjoribanks asked if in the event of a Cabinet being necessary when he was away, Kimberley might summon one. He said: "Certainly not," he could not delegate that power!!

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Benson.

OSBORNE, *January 10, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,

*Coburg*I have sent 2<sup>7</sup> docs. by the Queen's order.

1. from Stephen advises that the Coburg Prime Minister should say something in the Reichstag—or read a letter to calm German feeling—as they are angry at an *English* Duke of Coburg (my opinion only). I shd. say it was better to say nothing, but of course it is a German question.

If they make out that he is a pure *German* we shall have the Labby party at us again.

2. The family law of 1855—I don't know how far this holds good now. But if the Germans in 1855 did not object to the King of England naming a Viceroy of Coburg (in default of heirs) in 1855 I feel pretty sure they would object now.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

OSBORNE, *January 11, 1894.**Coburg*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have just heard the précis of a German letter translated to me from Herr Stenge, the Prime Minister of Coburg and Gotha, in which he says that Stephen, he believes, is asking Mr. Gladstone whether he thinks something should be said in Germany about the Duke of Coburg. Stenge says he cannot pretend to judge of English feelings.

But as far as Germany's feelings are concerned he thinks it better that the matter should drop.

Yours very truly, HENRY PONSONBY.

CONFIDENTIAL

*January 11, 1894.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—You will find in this box a letter to Mr. G. If you think that he will not like it or that it will do any harm, send it back to me. If you see no objection to it, give it to him.

I am very unhappy about this wretched business, and would give anything that I could see things as he sees them and stand by him to the end. But it cannot be.

Yours ever, RIPON.

I leave the giving or withholding of this letter *entirely* to your judgment.

PRIVATE

January 11, 1894.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—You may have observed that I said nothing at the Cabinet on Tuesday, as I wished to reserve my opinion until I had had time to consider deliberately the proposals which you then made to us. I have now done so, and I grieve to say that it is not possible for me to give them that support which I should always desire to afford to any propositions emanating from you.

I feel strongly all the force of the argument which you laid before us. I feel more strongly still how more than probable it is that you are right and that I and others who cannot agree with you are wrong. I need hardly, I hope, add that the temptation to me to bow to your judgment is almost more than I can resist, especially when I think of what may lie beyond the failure of the arrangement which you have suggested.

But weighty as are the matters which you have pressed upon us, the paramount consideration with us in the question under discussion is the maintenance of a Naval superiority sufficient for the safety of the country and the full protection of our interests, and it seems to me, upon the facts before us, that nothing materially short of the expenditure which Spencer proposes would secure us that superiority in future, and not distant, years. I am therefore constrained to support his plan.

I will not trouble you with arguments. My object in writing is the purely personal one of telling you how it comes that I find myself, to my deep regret, unable to follow you on this occasion. To have to say this is the most painful occurrence of my public life. I have been prouder of your confidence and of the share which you have accorded me in your great work than of anything else in my career. I am most deeply grateful to you for your generous and constant recognition of the small services I have been able to render to our common cause.

All I ask now is that you will still believe in my warm attachment to you, although from a strong conviction of duty I stand apart from you on this occasion, and that you will allow me to sign myself,

Yours affectionately, RIPON.

JANUARY 12.—To see Arthur Godley, and settled with him that Lansdowne should have a G.C.B.

To see Ripon on the crisis. I told him I had kept back his farewell letter to Mr. Gladstone as he desired, as it would accentuate affairs; he approved and said—ever since the Government had been in office he had never heard one adverse criticism on me; that to Mr. Gladstone, of course, my services had been inestimable, and to the Government, invaluable—but, as I said to him, his words were prompted by feelings of personal friendship.

Saw Rosebery and went over all the old story. He still will not believe in resignation.

To Harcourt, who said I must go to Biarritz; he was more outspoken than anybody, and said Mr. Gladstone was ruining his party for the second time.

To John Morley, who said he cared nothing, nor took any interest in what was done. If after all this anguish, these tragedies, Mr. Gladstone was to stay, he would have no part or parcel in it, as Mr. Gladstone would have lost all authority.

I agree with this; but I still think if the semblance of his position could be maintained till the spring only, it would be of immense value to the Party and the Cause.

E. Hamilton thinks Mr. Gladstone ought to go.

The Queen's letter clinches Mr. Gladstone to an increase of the Navy, I think; and now it becomes a question of amount.

Mr. Gladstone looking very pale and ill.

Arthur Godley came and deeply lamented Mr. Gladstone's decision.

Bryce came and was much emotioned over this terrible choice of Mr. Gladstone's.

Spencer Lyttelton came down and said Mr. Gladstone had taken farewell of him, thanking him for what he had

done—that he had always told him it would not be for long ; asking him if he would like anything.

I suggested to Spencer that he should accept a C.B., which he would like much.

To House of Commons. Saw G. Lefevre, who agreed with Mr. Gladstone on what he called the iniquities of Spencer's proposals, and how he was personally compromised from past utterances. Asked whether he should send in a paper to Mr. Gladstone, which I deprecated.

To Asquith, and reviewed at great length the position. To go would be disastrous from a party point of view, but to remain would be fatal to Mr. Gladstone's reputation and authority in the Cabinet.

John Morley was miserable at the shattering of his idol, being convinced (wrongly) that Mr. Gladstone's attitude was all acting, and that his anguish was for nothing.

Discussed eventualities.

Harcourt was impossible, for John Morley swore he would not serve under him or Rosebery. That John Morley was essential to the existence of a Liberal Government. Would Harcourt be content with a peerage and India or insist on Lord Chancellorship, which would be a scandal ? Rosebery thought the least displacement would be by putting Spencer as First Lord of the Treasury, but the Queen and country would not care for that. In that case Harcourt might possibly lead the Commons, and John Morley and the Irish acquiesce.

C.-Bannerman ought to lead and Rosebery ought to be First Lord.

The only man who would plead personal claims would be Fowler ! I hoped he would not go to the Admiralty. Rosebery said : " Why not ? " But Asquith was much opposed to it.

Rosebery complained of Mr. Gladstone's want of consideration, and the difficulties he was landing his friends in. No Cabinet for next year's legislation.

Welsh Disestablishment not yet discussed—a thorny subject. I dreaded his remaining in the House of Commons and being drawn.

Rosebery would not yet think it serious. Said he was

a mystery man. There were unfathomed depths and shallows, certainly pools undiscovered.

Mr. Gladstone the other day, talking to Edward Marjoribanks and me on Naval matters, said: "This is within four walls, for never by word or writing will *I* say anything about it."

Grainger pronounced Mr. Gladstone's trouble with his eyes as slow cataract, which would not be fit for operation for a year.

Asquith said Mr. Gladstone was too old, and that it could not have gone on as long as it had but for me.

JANUARY 13.—Went to see Mr. Gladstone off to Biarritz. John Morley there, which was very nice of him. He thought it was all over.

Talked with Loulou, who was in despair, and to his father, who was strong on Mr. Gladstone's conduct in 1859, and spoke of his putting on 4*d.* for military and naval expenditure—and his peroration; was very angry and indignant—not without cause, I admit.

MINLEY LODGE, FARNBOROUGH, HANTS, *January 12, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I wish you would send for a copy of the *United Service Magazine* for *Sept.*, in which there is an article by Captain Callwell, R.A., one of the picked men of the Intelligence Department (N.B. a soldier, not a sailor). It is to the effect that there is room for economizing in the Army enough to pay all or nearly what is wanted for the Navy.

I draw your attention to it because perhaps, if any prospect could be held out of reduction in the W.O. estimates, Mr. G. might be reconciled to the inevitable as regards the Navy.

But on thinking it over I am more and more inclined to think that all will settle down as before.

Yours, A. GODLEY.

JANUARY 14.—An awful day. To see Ripon, and talked the whole thing over and over from every point of view. The truth is, we have never had to deal before with an old man. Welby compares him to a general in a battle, who has not time to mourn over each death or wound.

JANUARY 15.—Arnold Morley thinks badly of things, and I hear Edward Marjoribanks looks upon them as hopeless.

Saw Harcourt again, who admitted going to Biarritz was very hard on me. The point I want to clear up is, whether I am to tell Mr. Gladstone that his colleagues are endeavouring (however impossible) to find some way of meeting his views. Harcourt thinks, yes.

Marjoribanks says Harcourt is pretty confident he will remain Chancellor of the Exchequer under the new Government, that John Morley will also remain, but perhaps not as Secretary for Ireland, for which E. Grey would be best.

I fear it is now over.

A very strongly worded letter from Her Majesty about Lansdowne's honour, declining to bestow a G.C.B. on him, as inadequate and an insult; saying, too, Mr. Gladstone should not have consulted the Cabinet, as she is the "Fountain of Honour" and they know nothing about it.

JANUARY 16.—Saw Rosebery, who said he was in a great bother, as he had been summoned to Osborne with this horrid secret in his breast—though he did not yet believe in it. Deplored the Queen's letter. He should answer it by a strong hint of resignation, saying he no longer possessed Her Majesty's confidence. Mr. Gladstone's answer ought to be firm, short, and dignified. Perhaps she would not talk of it, as she knew he (Rosebery) so fully agreed with Mr. Gladstone on this subject. He was sure that the Cabinet would not agree to any reduction on Spencer's minimum.

I said, never had he sent an ambassador on a more hopeless mission. On my repeating this to Ripon, he said my instructions were what Lord Granville gave him about the "Alabama" Claims: "You must 'duddle' it up somehow."

I wonder if I shall?

Dined with Asquith at Brooks's and discussed at enormous but agreeable length the position and the future.

Rosebery had said to him: would it not be a graceful thing on Mr. Gladstone's retirement to put Herbert in the Cabinet? but Asquith pooh-poohed it.

Mr. Gladstone said his Chancellor was the most

loquacious Chancellor he had ever known. This really applied, said Asquith, to the three Chancellors, Herschell, Harcourt, and Bryce.

Thought Edward Marjoribanks a strong man. McCarthy must be Whip, and A. Morley, whom a strange chance had put into the Cabinet, must be Speaker. Bryce was no good. G. Trevelyan the same, and G. Lefevre wants A. Milner's strength—successor to Pemberton, who was no better than a crossing-sweeper.

Suggested Wodehouse as a possible successor to Pemberton.

Does all the world move in waves? It seems the only way in which we can account for the periodic return of certain events, among which are nervous scares.

Reading Lord Broughton's *Memoirs*, I find that in 1838 Lord Palmerston brought forward the question of augmenting the Navy. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, looked black at a proposal entailing a necessity for more money and new taxes, but Lord Melbourne said we must come to that some day or other, and we should not be justified in exposing our shores and our arsenals to the insults and outrages of a Russian Fleet. Such an attack might appear to be a mad project, but even the unopposed appearance of a Russian Fleet on the narrow seas would degrade England in her own eyes and in the eyes of all the world. Palmerston proposed to ask Russia, in the first instance, not to equip more than a portion of her Fleet in the spring; saying, at the same time, that if she exceeded the proposed number we should augment our Navy.

Lord Melbourne then assumed a tone not usual with him, and said he considered England to have been under the special protection of Providence at certain periods of her history, several of which he mentioned, from the dispersion of the Spanish Armada to the retirement of the French Squadron in Bantry Bay, and that no man ought to count upon such interposition of Divine favour and use no human effort. Lord Hill, too, had written a letter to Lord Glenelg on the unsatisfactory state of the Army.

And now, in 1894, it was proposed largely to increase



shipbuilding, and consequently the Naval Estimates. Their proposal was contrary to all Mr. Gladstone's hostility to militarism and love of economy. This additional expenditure would act as an incentive to other countries to follow our example, and enter into a race towards bankruptcy among all the nations of the world. As Mr. Gladstone said, he remembered the day when the Army and Navy Estimates combined amounted to £14,000,000 only.

## CONFIDENTIAL

11 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, S.W., *January 17, 1894,*  
*Wednesday.*

DEAR SIR ALGY,—*Ld. S.* is very anxious to do something towards accommodation. He will work at it at once with Shuttleworth, but does not think the further reduction can exceed £200,000 if it reaches that figure. Of the whole of the Navy Estimates on his figures the actual new construction—that is, things which are not commenced and in progress—only amount to *one* million, and this is the only part on which reductions can be made. All the rest of construction is now in progress under the Naval and Imperial Defence Acts and orders given last year.

I think he may drop Gibraltar, but that is only £30,000 this year. The dredging works at Portland and Portsmouth come to about £160,000. If we could get this off it would help. Only about £120,000 is spent on each battleship in the first year.

Spencer, as you know, has knocked the Admirals down £1,000,000 on the estimates for '94-5 alone—no small triumph!

Rosebery is, I gather, writing to Spencer all the time to stand firm and do nothing, but I am sure he (*S.*) is most anxious to do what he can.

He will write to Mr. G.

Acton tells me that Mr. G. still speaks of bi-section as his minimum. Of course, if this is adhered to everything is at an end.

I am sorry I cannot stay to see you to-day, but I could tell you no more than this.

Yours, LOULOU.

Write to me to Malwood.

## CHAPTER XVI

1894

WITH MR. GLADSTONE AT BIARRITZ

JANUARY 19.—On January 19 I arrived at the Grand Hotel, Biarritz, and found Mr. Gladstone very silent.

I walked with Acton, to whom Mr. Gladstone had apparently said that he had come to the absolute conclusion that he must retire.

And now the tragedy we had long foreseen was approaching its fulfilment. Chatham, we know, was dictatorial and supercilious with his Cabinet: it was not so with Mr. Gladstone, but there were times no doubt when he felt that his colleagues had been in their cradles when he had already been for years in the service of the State, and it was impossible for him not to feel in the inmost recesses of his heart that more deference should have been shown by them to his age and long experience, and this feeling may perhaps have added to the difficulties which confronted him in 1894.

Popular opinion had set in strongly in favour of increased Naval expenditure and was too strong for his colleagues, who, backed up, of course, by their professional advisers, could not and would not yield to the strong desire of their chief to avoid militarism and study the well-nigh forgotten merits of economy.

Naval Estimates,<sup>1</sup> which in my lifetime amounted to

<sup>1</sup> Just to what portion of the Naval Estimates these figures refer is not made clear. That they are not intended (as they could scarcely be intended) as inclusive, is evident from the following synopsis, appended by Sir Algernon himself, of the Naval Estimates over a considerable period:

	£		£
1840-41	5,597,511	1880-81	10,511,840
1845-46	6,809,872	1885-86	13,090,440
1850-51	6,437,883	1890-91	29,822,522
1855-56	19,554,585	1895-96	35,078,187
1860-61	13,331,688	1908-09	33,942,003
1865-66	10,259,788	1909-10	36,782,990
1870-71	8,969,969	1910-11	42,412,524
1875-76	10,798,013	1911-12	46,204,799

£10,000,000, and in Mr. Gladstone's lifetime to £5,000,000, were now to reach the gigantic amount of £16,366,000. During all his life as Prime Minister and as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had striven for economy—now a forgotten virtue—and towards the end of his career was he to stultify all he had learnt and all he had taught?

No one who had been outside the knowledge of affairs could believe in the pressure of colleagues, of personal friends, of trusted officials, but against them all he stood foursquare and determined. "Et tu, Brute!" he could have said to those on whose affection and support he thought he could have leant. When all these troubles, with his gradually impaired eyesight and his advancing years, were upon him, I was asked to visit him at Biarritz by many members of the Cabinet.

Personally, having been brought up under the glamour of my master, I disliked the proposed expenditure, but I saw that it was a necessity, and I knew that my visit would be painful as I felt my inability to prove this necessity to Mr. Gladstone. There were moments and days of great happiness in finding myself in his company and listening to his conversation as of old, but there was a black cloud such as there never had been before hanging over me. "You have attached yourself to a corpse," he had said, when the idea was first broached of my giving what help I could in his labours. No day passed without my getting letters, all urging his giving way on the subject of the increase of the Naval vote.

JANUARY 20.—I took some letters in to Mr. Gladstone, and showed him a passage in the *New York Herald* of January 13, saying there was dissension in the Government over the Navy Estimates, both as to the amount and way of providing it. Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt were said to be opposed to increased estimates. He asked where did I suppose was the leakage from the Cabinet? I said that I thought that a secret was no secret when it was known to more than three persons—and I proposed to circulate the passage.

He then said he had had a bad time, and had been much pained at hearing that Murray had told Acton the

whole story. Acton, however, had denied it, and he was glad to find that it was absolutely untrue, which I confirmed.

He gave me the Royal correspondence on the question of Lord Lansdowne's G.C.B. His reply to Her Majesty's letter was good and dignified. As to the proposal being an insult, he referred to the offer of the same dignity to Sir James Graham, Lord Auckland (not a successful Governor), Lord Hardinge, and to himself—to whom it had been offered when he had filled many important offices and was Secretary of State, as well as to his own Lord Chancellor. He also defended his having mentioned the proposed Dukedom for Lord Lansdowne to his colleagues, and said he might also have mentioned Northcote, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the Opposition.

He was surprised at Arthur Godley's support of Lansdowne for the “ Garter,” for he said “ his judgment rarely erred.”

I then said I must have a little conversation with him on the Navy at a convenient season; he said “ now ”: so I began by saying I had brought many prayers and entreaties from his colleagues, upon which he burst out with, “ What is the good of prayers! I have had hours of conversation with J. Morley and Acton, and they have not produced a single point or reason to alter my decision.” It was on militarism, he said, that he was combating the three Admirals. I said that Spencer was a man of such loyal and simple straightforwardness, that he could as a man of the world have done better had he come to the Cabinet with their demand of four millions, and then come down to three, instead of at once producing his minimum.

We then had a controversy on figures, which was unimportant. I said I put my argument on higher grounds than figures, which was the effect his resignation would have on the Government and the party; how it would put back the cause of Ireland ten years. “ Well,” he said, “ I always told McCarthy, Sexton, and Davitt that I could not be in at the death, and as that was so Ireland

must yield to Europe—I could do no more.” I said, “Forgive me, but I differ entirely—if you represent an undivided party at the Dissolution, you might issue your valedictory address, retire from Parliament, and so great would be the effect that I think the sympathy and sensation it would produce would carry a majority in England.” He doubted it. He said, “I have given way to the extent of a million—what would you have me do?” That very fact, I said, in my opinion worsened his position, because it was substituting detail for principle—which he would not allow, and talked again of the menace to Europe our proposed Naval expansion would be, and of the European danger greater than Government or party. I said I was glad there was no proposal to increase military estimates. “No,” he said, “there never will be in time of peace,” and though I doubted this I was not prepared with details and precedents.

I then said I thought more of his reputation than any questions of Navy or anything else, and I anticipated with horror his leaving on a question of this kind on which the minds of all whose opinion he valued were against him. It was so little for Ireland and his party to ask that he should stay till a dissolution in the summer. He then produced a written list of the Cabinet—against his own name he had written “No,” against Rosebery’s and Harcourt’s “Aye.” He did not know about Ripon, Asquith, Acland, or Bryce, but gave up Kimberley. I assured him that all those that he was doubtful about were opposed to him. (I spoke positively for Rosebery, which he did not dispute—he was a mixture of Chamberlain and Dilke, and wanted big ships to support his policy.) I told him I had had long talks with Ripon, Asquith, Acland, and Bryce, and they were all not only against him but in favour of Spencer’s programme. (A. Morley also, I believed, agreed.) He tried to make me separate their feeling for Party and Government from their independent opinion on the abstract merits. This I said no man could do—to divest himself in the consideration of important events from the sentiments and influence of surrounding circumstances. But I firmly believed that

those I had mentioned were in favour of Spencer's proposals, apart, as far as possible, from their desire to keep him. He fancied that John Morley was with him, but at this interview he was so occupied and so angry that I hardly know what he thought.

He said that after the Cabinet George Lefevre was miserable. I said I had had a long talk with him, but that it had been confined to some wretched details about works at Gibraltar not involving more than a few thousands. He admitted that this was not much support for his views. I asked him if he had considered the position in which the Government would be at the commencement of Parliament. They would have to meet Parliament without a single Cabinet meeting to settle a programme or consider a measure.

Welsh Disestablishment, he said, was already settled—the discussion of that could not take place till May. I then said, "What is to be the Government?"

John Morley will not serve under Rosebery in the Lords and Harcourt in the Commons. Mr. Gladstone said he had promised to try to induce him to remain. I said it would only be by substituting Spencer for Rosebery, and would the House of Commons stand the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary both in the Lords? There was, too, a party who united for C.-Bannerman, and then what could be done with Harcourt—Lord Chancellor? No, he said, that was impossible. I told him that Fowler had already sounded a note of mutiny. I see all those difficulties, but the Cabinet knew them before their decision, and they were nothing to greater European difficulties, which he foresaw. He did not mean to attend habitually in the House of Commons, or to express his opinions during these discussions; but he reserved to himself the right to put before the country his views. I said he could not keep this secret, and Chamberlain would be sure to ask him whether he approved of this expenditure.

"That would be no difficulty," he said; "I should decline to answer." Which, I replied, would not be difficult to interpret. He then went off about Harcourt's

"fallacy," as he called it, of 1859-60-61. "But," I said, "anyhow you put 4*d.* on the Income Tax," which he said (wrongly) was for China, etc., and there was no Income Tax then, only an annual tax which was beside the question; and then he referred to his policy in the past, and the whole line of statesmen with whose views he concurred—Peel, Russell, Aberdeen, etc.; Palmerston being the only one who could possibly have done such a thing. He said the Tories had much to answer for in allowing George Hamilton's motion, which even Dizzy would never have permitted. I agreed fully on this, hoping to divert his wrath from his own party—but only for a moment, for he said his Cabinet were all new except Ripon and Kimberley, and knew nothing of such things. I said Harcourt was not very young, and heard much in early days from George Lewis, etc.

Mr. Gladstone's arguments were, that the 1859-60 Estimates were for Nice and Savoy, and our being on the brink of war. In this he is wrong.

Then he talked of China war and Austro-French war, on which I must get information.

He said the Government of 1859-60 was one of furious contention; that Lord Palmerston only consented to fortifications (now useless) so as not to lose his French Treaty.

Mr. Gladstone said the increase in Estimates in 1859-60 were for defensive, not offensive purpose. I said—surely this year's increase was also for that.

I now felt, after nearly an hour's discussion, that I had pretty nearly exhausted my armoury, however much in vain; so I produced my last weapon, and said, "You have a high opinion of Arthur Godley; may I tell you what he thinks of the position?"

"How does he know about it?" was his natural question. I said, "I must take the whole responsibility of having told him, knowing what great weight you always attached to his excellent judgment."

I then read Godley's letter, to which he listened very attentively, and said, "Before discussing it, let us take the last part. I think I am right in saying, we are all agreed that if I am to go I could not have chosen a better

time than now, and not sacrifice the fruits of this Session."

On this I said I was not well informed, but I had no doubt it was so.

Here is what Godley said :

CONFIDENTIAL

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, *January 18, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—As you ask me to say what I think about the matter of which we were speaking, I am quite ready to do so. But you will of course understand that I have nothing to do with the political side of the question: if Mr. Gladstone were to retire from the Government, I cannot believe that the Government of his successor (supposing his successor to be a Liberal) would last many days: but that I entirely disregard. My point of view is that of one who is personally devoted to Mr. Gladstone and who cares above all things for his reputation and welfare. Such being my position, I cannot say that I would lift a finger merely to keep him in office: at his age he is entitled to lay down his burden whenever he feels that he can do so with a good conscience, and no real friend ought to press him to remain for a day if, in his own judgment, his work is done. But what I am anxious for is that he should go (if he is to go) in such a way and on such an occasion as to carry with him the unimpaired sympathy and affection of his colleagues and his supporters all over the world. Now, if he were to go upon this question of a reduction of the Navy Estimates, would this be the case? Can you name, I will not say any section of the party, but any group of friends or supporters who would not be deeply grieved at his taking such a course? If he were merely fighting the "experts," that would be all right; but so far as I can make out, he would be acting against the opinion and wishes of nearly the whole of his party, and would be fighting for a proposal which, if it were laid before the House of Commons, would be considered inadequate and defeated by a large majority. Of course, if he cannot think it right to take part in proposing to Parliament a scheme which is certainly (I should think) the least that Parlia-



ment would accept, we, his friends, must be prepared for the consequence: but it would be to us a grief and disappointment that his severance from public affairs should come about in such a way.

As I have ventured to "exercise myself in great matters, which are too high for me," I will, while I am about it, add one question: Would it not be felt and said that, if he intended to insist upon his point, he ought to have brought matters to a crisis before now, so that his colleagues and his party might have at least a chance of collecting their thoughts before the meeting of Parliament? Whether this could be *justly* said is another matter. I suppose it probably *would* be said, and it would add to our regrets such a feeling should exist, even if there were no good ground for it.

I apologize for writing at such length, but the subject is one on which one could say a good deal!

Yours ever, A. GODLEY.

I began reading it to Mr. G. at "my point of view," he agreeing with every word of it, but later on disputed that his views would be defeated by a large majority in the House of Commons. At the words "the least that Parliament would accept" Mr. Gladstone said, "The most, I think."

He then ended this momentous conversation by saying: "You might all as well try to blow up the rock of Gibraltar. *Liberavi animam meam.*"

Looking back after the lapse of years, I am astonished at my audacity.

I told Acton, when I came out, that I could not enter into any detail, as I was shattered; all I could tell him was that Mr. Gladstone thought nothing of his arguments—or probably mine, but I could only describe the position by an anecdote of old Angerstein. When he had gained two points at whist, his partner marked two. Angerstein said, "Why do you mark like that?" "Well," he said, "they always mark in that way at the Travellers' and the Turf." "It only shows," said he, "what d—d fools they must be at the Travellers' and the Turf!"

I thought it might be well that I should return to London and see Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, so I made an excuse of a recent appointment on the Board of the City and Waterloo Railway for my journey. Before I started, Mr. Gladstone asked me if I had any questions to ask him.

I said that I was sure his colleagues would anxiously wish to hear all I had to tell. "May I take any crumb of comfort to them? and even if not, however great the calamity, I am sure they would like to know the worst. May I say that you expect something from them?"

"No," he said, "I will not ask for anything." "Is there some hope that anything short of a withdrawal of the whole scheme could lead to any arrangement?" "The plan," said he, "is mad; and who are they who propose it? Men who were not born when I had been in public life for years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer should have been the first to oppose it, as the Custodian of the Public Purse. Ripon is a calm and peaceful man, and I should like to know how he can justify such a policy. My plan is this," he went on to say, "to be silent during the Estimates, unless something is proposed contrary to sound finance, which I fear will be done; but later I shall make a statement in the House, and I ought," he added, "to place my seat in these circumstances at the disposal of my constituents."

Then he asked me to read a paper that he had prepared after our talk of yesterday, but could not find it. "All I can say is, that if I have any doubt it is that I have gone too far. I have given up too much: anybody who would suggest that I should recede from what I have said would insult me."

JANUARY 22.—I left Biarritz and reached London at 6.30 on January 23, when I went at once to see Rosebery and Asquith, to whom I read my diary. There was little to say, but they quite agreed that I had put every point that could be put and there was nothing to be done. I suggested their sending someone better,<sup>1</sup> but they would not. They said Mr. Gladstone ought to resign *now*.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. to Biarritz, to reason with Mr. Gladstone.

Rosebery thought it would be impossible for him to form a Government in so short a time, and he should like to bolt.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that Mr. Gladstone is immovable on this point. Rosebery and Asquith both agree, and S. Lyttelton, Welby, and Godley. How sad! How sad! And yet nobody who saw him at dinner on Sunday would have thought him otherwise than brilliant and happy.

Dizzy, he then said, was the greatest wit he ever knew.

In reply to a quotation Peel made, Dizzy said: "I find no fault with the Right Honourable gentleman's quotation, for he never makes one unless it has previously received the approbation of Parliament."

Dined with Welby and Asquith at Brooks's and could talk of nothing but the great calamity.

JANUARY 24.—I saw Spencer and dined with him at Ripon's, where we again went over everything.

Spencer said Rosebery had talked to him of being Prime Minister, which he should decline, as unsuited for it.

Over and over again went over everything; but this I have established, that they are all satisfied with what I have said and done, and the arguments I have used—so far so well.

On my return to London two days later, I heard that the mislaid paper<sup>1</sup> had been traced. After some demur Mr. Gladstone had given it to Shand, but on the understanding that he was only to send the gist of it to me—not a copy, as he did not wish it shown about.

BIARRITZ, *January 22.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—The missing paper was found this morning in Mr. G.'s great-coat pocket. There is no solution as to how it got there.

We are just back from San Sebastian (I wish you had been with us), and Mr. G. consented on his return after a struggle to let me have the famous document. I was

<sup>1</sup> Detailing the proposed Naval expenditure and setting out his reasons for resigning office, in the face of it.

not, however, to send you a copy of it but only *a sort of abstract, as he did not wish it to be shown about.*

After setting forth certain heads (enclosed) he says his full intention is silence till the matter is settled in the regular course of sessional proceedings. When they are at an end, and in the event of new circs. and prolonged controversy, he will consider his duty afresh upon the principle which guides him throughout, namely, that of choosing the ultimate good and the smallest present evil.

The smallest of all present evils is the probable disparagement to himself. Great and certain evils are the damage to the party and new uncertainties for Ireland.

There is, in his opinion, an inherent evil in the plan itself wh. wd. not be averted were it possible for him to say aye to it.

Forgive haste—have only had 20 minutes to write all this.  
Ever yours, H. S.

The proposal, according to Mr. Gladstone, was in excess of both public expectation and all precedent. It entailed unjust taxation. He would not minister to the alarming aggression of professional elements. He would not break continuous action of his political life, nor trample on tradition received from every colleague who had ever been his teacher. Above all, he would not add to coming calamities and perils of Europe by act of militarism, which would be found to involve a policy like, and which had less excuse than, the militarism of Germany, France, or Russia. England's part was to help Peace and Liberty, of which peace is the nurse. The proposed policy was the foe of both.

JANUARY 25.—I left Victoria at 11 on my return journey to Biarritz. A stormy passage to Calais; with Ritchie to Paris. Discussed Deputy Governorship of Union Bank, etc.

In a 'bus to Gare d'Orléans—a melancholy dinner—and on to Biarritz, where I arrived:—

JANUARY 26, at 12.—Had soon to go to Mr. Gladstone, who said: "Do they now believe that I am going to abide by my determination?"

I said, "Yes, they believed that, but what they would not believe was that you would leave the Government and remain in Parliament." He took this better than I thought, and said that was a question for consideration, but it was a matter on which he must consult his constituents.

Long talk with Acton, all leading to nothing.

JANUARY 27.—Heard that Mr. Gladstone had written a very cross letter to Rosebery, saying he ought not to have spoken in the name of the Government. How could he help it when Mr. Gladstone would not let him have a Cabinet?

In the evening, a capital telegram of Rosebery's success with Khedive.

JANUARY 28.—Received letter from Ripon, which I read to Mr. Gladstone, but I might as well have read to the seas for the effect it had upon his views. He was, however, personally pleased with it.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

COLONIAL OFFICE, *January 26, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—In the course of our conversation on Wednesday you asked me to tell you what were my reasons, apart from considerations connected with the Government or the Party, for supporting Spencer's proposals with respect to the Naval Estimates of the next few years. I then promised to write to you on the subject as soon as I could, and I now fulfil my engagement.

I must begin by saying that no considerations concerning the Government or the Party have influenced my views upon this subject. So far as regards the Government my allegiance is due to Mr. Gladstone and to him alone, and I should have followed him most readily in this or any other matter without being swayed by the effect upon the Government generally of any course he might adopt.

Neither in this case have the interests of the Party weighed with me. I am of course quite aware that the greatest blow which could be inflicted upon the Liberal Party would be that Mr. Gladstone should cease a day

before it is absolutely necessary to be the head of the Government and the Leader of the Party. But fatal as such a step would be to the Party for the time, if Mr. Gladstone had felt himself bound to take it I should have followed him into retirement without a moment's hesitation.

My reasons for feeling myself constrained to support Spencer's proposals rest upon no side issues, but upon the merits of the case itself. I hate "Jingoism" as much as Mr. Gladstone does. I am keenly alive to the enormous evils of the "militarism" of the time. If the proposal had been to increase the Army with any insane purpose of competing by land with the great military nations of the Continent, I should have resisted to the last extremity. But the case of the Navy under existing circumstances seems to me of quite a different kind. It is the Navy which secures to us all the blessings of our insular position, and which enables us to maintain an Army small when compared with the extent of our possessions. It is the Navy which delivers us most effectually from the curse of "militarism," and I hold therefore, and I always have held, that it is of vital importance that we should maintain a Navy adequate to guard the safety of the country and to afford full protection for our interests. Now it seems to me upon the facts before us that nothing materially short of the expenditure which Spencer proposes would enable us to maintain in future and not distant years a Naval superiority such as is, from my point of view, absolutely necessary. I am not dreaming of aggression, I am not thinking of an ambitious supremacy, I am looking only to what I believe to be required for the defence and security of our present position; and that being so, the question presents itself to me in a form in which I have no alternative, with all the grave responsibilities of a Minister upon me, but honestly to act upon my own deliberate judgment. In such a case no man can cast any share of his personal responsibility upon anyone else, however eminent. I do not in my conscience think Mr. Gladstone right, and I dare not say I do.

I feel strongly all the force of the arguments which he

laid before the Cabinet. I feel more strongly still how more than probable it is that he is right and that I and others who differ from him are wrong. But I am not convinced, and in a case so grave and vital I cannot yield without conviction. To have to say that I cannot follow him is the most painful circumstance of my public life. I have been more proud of his confidence and of the share which he has accorded me in his great work than of anything else in my career. I am most deeply grateful to him for his generous and constant recognition of the small services I have been able to render to our common cause. To stand apart from him now, perhaps to risk his friendship, is a very heavy trial, but at least I trust that he will give me credit for the deep conviction of duty which compels me, after long and most careful thought, to differ from him at so momentous a crisis.

Believe me, my dear West, yours sincerely, RIPON.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *January 30, 1894.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I very much hope influenza will not be added to your existing troubles. I have seen Acton, who quite confirms all you have said. But he thinks that even now there is just a chance of the precedent of the Budget of '59-60 making a change in the situation. The failure of Ripon and J. M. is a sinister feature. Bowen has declined the Chair of the Educn. Comm., and so Acland is going to ask Bryce. As he had previously mentioned his name to Mr. G., I did not think it worth while telegraphing. Margot is now progressing. Haldane had a talk with her, but she is still weak and only to see one person at a time. Her parents are here, with no immediate prospect of going abroad. M. didn't see the Custs up to the time Haldane left on Sunday night. You will observe the voting yesterday of Stanmore; I doubt now whether he will even support the Govt. Hampden and Kinnaird voted with the Unionists. It is said that Chamberlain's influence was what caused the very hostile attitude of the Unionists!

How gloomy everything is and sounds!

Whatever may be the result of this crisis the future

relations of Mr. G. and his colleagues must undergo a complete and lamentable change. J. M. is quite under the idea that he explained his position quite definitely in the letter to Mr. G. *He*, however, regards him even now as a sort of supporter! Was Ripon's a good letter?

Ever yours, S. L.<sup>1</sup>

I don't see how they can get on without a Cabinet on the Liability<sup>2</sup> Bill, and have written to Asquith about it. Decreases of Revenue this week, 2nd, £200,603. Last week, 1st, £882,803.

I then begged Mr. Gladstone, though I had been refused, to telegraph to Spencer Lyttelton stopping the snubbing letter to Rosebery. He refused, and said it was monstrous his acting like that without consultation. I said, “You could not allow him to have a Cabinet in your absence.” He replied that he might have consulted those around him. I said, “Perhaps he did, but now sending a congratulatory telegram which would arrive at the same time nearly as a snubbing letter was surely a mistake. And could he not telegraph saying he had written a letter on his first telegram, which was not now worth sending? He consented at last to this and telegraphed accordingly, and said it was a very good suggestion, but he wondered how it would fare with England in the future.

He did not know which would be better, that Rosebery should be Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary. He had got into this independent habit from Lord Salisbury holding both offices.

JANUARY 29.—A day of nothings in morning; to tea in afternoon to Bayonne.

Mr. Gladstone wrote to E. Marjoribanks, consulting him about his constituents as his retirement now is finally settled. We can hope only that he will retire altogether, and the secret be kept in the meanwhile; but Mr. Gladstone thinks, like Mr. Poyser, that the young generation is a poor contrivance for carrying on the world.

How changed he is!

<sup>1</sup> Spencer Lyttelton.

<sup>2</sup> Employers' Liability Bill.



JANUARY 30.—With Shand to St. Jean de Luz. A nice quiet little seaside place, where Louis XIV was born. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Armitstead, and my wife joined us at a wonderfully good luncheon at the Hôtel de France, where we had an omelette soufflée, of the famous kind John Morley had so much enjoyed in 1892. How different a time from this wretched one !

In the evening Mr. and Mrs. Mostyn dined and Mr. Webster,<sup>1</sup> to whom Mr. Gladstone had given £150 per annum out of Civil List.

Read Welby's letter to Mr. Gladstone, who disputed some of it, but admitted that it was interesting, and said nobody had attempted to meet his arguments.

Armitstead came in saying Herbert implored me to ask Mr. Gladstone if Welby should not come out, as his letter had made such an impression, and asking me again to speak to Mr. Gladstone ; so I did, asking him if it would have any effect if he talked to Welby.

"Not the slightest," said he ; "I am quite sure of my memory, though I should like to clear up certain figures and dates, for my speech.

"I know that the 1859-60 Estimates were prepared as war estimates, as I considered we were on the brink of war, and they were not meant to be permanent."

At 4 o'clock Shand came into my room with news of the *Pall Mall Gazette's* announcement that Mr. Gladstone was about to resign.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *January 31, 1894.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—The whole place is in a state of excitement over the rumour of the resignation. Here is the *P.M.G.* extract.

I telegraphed to you in cipher to ask whether I was to say anything about it, and have told the press people, who were buzzing about here all the aft., that I would let them know if anything should turn up. But also that Mr. G. may not think it desirable to notice a newspaper story.

<sup>1</sup> An Englishman who lived for many years in the Pyrenees and was a high authority on the language and customs of the Basques.

I gather that Welby's Memorandum is simmering a bit. I have your cipher telegram to him. He is away and E. W. H[amilton] is working out the answer. . . .

I had no post from Biarritz to-day.

S. LYTTLETON.

P.S.—I feel anxious lest the Queen should telegraph on this rumour. So is Rosebery. But I also think it not unlikely that it may put Mr. G.'s back up and induce him to remain.

Mr. Gladstone was out and I failed to find him till his return to the Hotel. I took Herbert in with me and read him the statement, and the following telegram :

“BIARRITZ, LONDON, 57, 10.

“*Pall Mall Gazette* announces on authority your immediately impending resignation. We propose ridiculing it as dishonouring rumour and beg word of confirmation.

“EDITOR, *Daily Chronicle*, LONDON.”

He asked me if I had any answer to propose ? I said, no, short of a contradiction, but if that were done it would be impossible to do what he intended later. One thing occurred to me, as bearing on the question, which was that the rejection by the Lords of the “Employers' Liability Bill” might hasten the possibility of a dissolution. This seemed to make a great impression on him, and I rather emphasized it.

“Home Rule,” “Fisheries,” “Employers' Liability Bill,” and probably “Parish Councils.”

I then said I would leave him for a bit to think it out. When I returned, in about half an hour, he proposed that a Statement, which he had drawn up, should be sent to Ripon, as he was in town, asking him to make what use of it he thought fit. I said it would be very invidious to place on the shoulders of one member of the Cabinet such a responsibility, and that it was likewise unfair. Mr. Gladstone said he would not himself contradict the

statement, and I suggested his private secretary doing it, but to this he would not agree.

What Mr. Gladstone had written ran :

"The statement that Mr. Gladstone has definitely decided, or has decided at all on resigning office, is untrue. It is true that for many months past his age and the condition of his sight and hearing have in his judgment made relief from public cares desirable, and that accordingly his tenure of office has been at any moment liable to interruption from these causes, in their nature permanent. It remains exactly as it has been. He is ignorant of the course which events important to the nation may take even during the remainder of the present Session, and he has not said or done anything which could in any degree restrain his absolute freedom and that of his colleagues with regard to the performance of arduous duties now lying or likely to lie before them."

He asked for criticism on his statement, which I gave him freely, and all of which he adopted, except that I begged him to alter the "it" referring to "tenure of office." I then begged him not to say "said or done," and when it was copied out, renewed my protest against "said," quoting the "*Morituri*"<sup>1</sup> to Rosebery and his letter to Edward Marjoribanks. But he would not.

It was ultimately decided to telegraph the statement to the various newspapers and Press agencies that had called attention to what the *P.M.G.* had said, and Shand got all the telegrams off. At dinner Mr. Gladstone was very cheerful, saying the whole position was now altered, and there was then no further allusion to Navy Estimates.

<sup>1</sup> "*Morituri te salutant.*"

## CHAPTER XVII

1894

### RUMOURS OF RETIREMENT

FEBRUARY 1, 1894.—Telegram from American papers congratulating Mr. Gladstone on his contradiction as to retirement. "It has done its work," said Mr. Gladstone, "but it is a ticklish affair."

Acton wrote :

ATHENÆUM CLUB, *February 1, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—In conversation with Spencer a question arose as to the relative cost of his scheme and that of the Naval Defence Programme.

He had the enclosed paper drawn up for me, and he seemed to doubt whether Mr. Gladstone has these figures before him, I send it to you. The upshot is this :

The N.D.<sup>1</sup> Act built 70 warships for £22,500,000.

Spencer would build 84 warships for £14,678,000.

As the N.D. Programme required torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers, Spencer would supply 30 of the first and 82 of the second for £4,085,000. His entire programme amounts to £18,763,000.

Compared to £22,500,000.

Ever yours, ACTON.

FEBRUARY 2.—Took Ripon's nice letter to Mr. Gladstone.

"It only shows," he said, "to what a state men's minds can fall." "Well," I said, "did you not wish for an Act?" "No, I only said it would be difficult to answer the Tories, that is all."

All I can say is that, if after making me the mouth-piece for his contradiction, he means to maintain his

<sup>1</sup> N.D. = Naval Defence.

<sup>2</sup> An Act for increased Naval expenditure—instead of an increase in the Estimates.

ground, I can have no part in such a transaction, for I distinctly told him that he could not contradict it, if he remained in the same attitude. He said, "You might as well suppose that if you had determined to shoot a man, and I objected, that you would propitiate me by saying you would run a knife into him."

Mr. Gladstone in writing to Ripon says :

"There are three conceivable motives for a judgment opposite to mine: The Party, Ireland, the Merits. The two last, or one of them, I conceive to be yours, and these are they which command from me an entire respect."

And again :

"Your suggestion" (increased Navy expenditure to be met by an Act in lieu of usual course of Estimates) "shows more and more how the reasons that command my mind are hardly ever present in the minds of others. It was from their point of view that the subject appeared to me one that might grow into inconvenience: from mine, it is rather like the choice between the dagger and the bowl—a choice the offer of which is undoubtedly prompted by humanity."

Shand says Mr. Gladstone has read through his Budget Speech of 1859, in which no word of reason is given for the enormous increase, and is more and more convinced that it is no precedent for this time. It was because of the state of Europe then which does not exist now, and he meant the House of Commons to understand by the words "ambiguous," and "provisional," for this year only. Welby's letter dealt only with facts, not arguments. I cannot for the life of me understand what he means. Shand thinks he means to maintain his views on the Navy and yet stay on. Is this possible? I do hope not.

My wife tells me Mrs. Gladstone says she has ordered up the horses from Hawarden—does this mean anything?

FEBRUARY 8.—Read extracts of papers to Mr. Gladstone, which he took quietly, but when I read him Hamilton's paper he immediately became angry: "Those are figures, I don't want those. That's argument, I don't want that—a regular bungling piece of work," etc.

Behold, all things are a mystery!

But what isolation ! Not a word from any colleague !!!

On our return from Bayonne I am met by a new turn in the situation, Mr. Gladstone having written a letter to Welby asking for certain information in regard to the introduction of Estimates in a new Parliament, assuming that there was to be a dissolution.

Mr. Gladstone explained that he contemplated provisional Estimates on the old scale, then dissolving and saying "good-bye."

I read him E. Marjoribanks' speech saying the Government would remain where they are, etc.

Bishop Wilkinson dined.

FEBRUARY 4.—Mr. Gladstone gave us an interesting account of a journey he took from Hawarden to Munich in 1845, which occupied seven days.

On reaching London he was told that to cross the Channel he had better go to Shoreham and take the steamer from there to Dieppe, so he hurried on to Brighton only to find, however, that he was too late as the packet had sailed. He was advised then to go to Dover, which he did via Reigate. Here he was more fortunate and was taken out to the steamer in a little boat. Had a terrible crossing to Calais, and on reaching Paris put up at the Hôtel Bristol.

In the evening he dined at the British Embassy, to which he drove from the Bristol in a *voiture de remise*. The driver called again at the Embassy after dinner, and took him to the place from which the diligence started, asking him five francs in all, which Mr. Gladstone had never forgotten as he thought the charge so moderate. The long-distance diligences for the various parts of France all apparently started from the same place at the same time.

When they were loaded up and the drivers in their seats, the starter gave the word: "Allez Strasbourg ! Allez Bordeaux ! Allez Marseilles !" etc., and off they went. Mr. Gladstone went in the Strasbourg diligence, then on through Stuttgart and Augsburg to Munich, where he made the acquaintance of Dr. Döllinger.

In 1849 Mr. Gladstone went to Rome. It was at the

time of the French occupation, and when crossing the Pontine Marshes all the passengers on the coach except himself were women—wives of French officers on their way to join their husbands. Coming to a shallow stream, which had to be crossed, it was necessary to lighten the coach and the driver asked everybody to get down. Mr. Gladstone carried all the women to the other side of the stream, where they got on to the coach again, the husbands showing their appreciation of what he had done by leaving cards upon him next day.

To Bayonne Cathedral, with Shand. On my return, a letter from E. Marjoribanks to Mr. Gladstone pressing the opinion that he should retire from Midlothian and Parliament if he leaves the Government, and suggesting his return to town on the 9th.

Mr. Gladstone said the situation was now changed. It depended whether the House of Lords had completed its tale of iniquities; if so, he would propose an immediate dissolution, but in that case he would obtain a provisional vote for Army and Navy first, and then ask the country to judge of him by the past—not future—and to give a commission to the new Government to deal with the House of Lords.

My wife tells me that Mr. Gladstone said at luncheon: "I dreamt that I was in the House of Lords, and wondered how I got there." Mrs. Drew said: "I wonder how you would get on there?" He said: "You will never have your curiosity satisfied, anyhow."

Sent me my letter and copy to E. Marjoribanks proposing a dissolution, and I was to find out and let him know whether his colleagues wanted a Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone brilliant at *déjeuner*, being full of his new idea, saying he had strength enough and physique enough for the fight with the Lords. But pointing to his eyes.

Mr. Gladstone, said, if necessary, he could have a Cabinet on his return on Saturday evening, and a messenger might go to the Queen immediately after. It was too late, however, to go further into the momentous question, and I am glad to avoid another argument.

So the curtain is falling, and the end is not far off.

God grant it may come with decency, and the great Cæsar fold his robes gracefully around him as he falls !

My wife and I left Biarritz at 6 p.m., arriving in town next day.

## SECRET

BIARRITZ, *February 4, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have put into a letter to Marjoribanks, of which you will perhaps carry with you a copy, a succinct and of course not final view of the situation as the Lords seem to be manipulating it. *If* it be in a Liberal sense at all desirable that I should appear before the country at a Dissolution, and if that cannot be at a Dissolution twelve months hence, it is curious enough that the Lords should take the steps which might possibly bring it now.

I suppose the main question is whether the Local Govt. Bill has been so mutilated by the Lords as to make it less than a boon fairly presentable to the country. We ought now to pass a Bill on that subject-matter of such a character that the main part of the work would have to be done over again. I am glad to know the Cabinet Committee is to re-assemble, and no doubt they will give us their view in a form sufficiently pointed.

We ought also to know, besides the Local Government Bill, how far the Lords have *riled* London by their course on Metropolitan questions, and Scotland as to the Sea Fisheries. I assume that the case of Employers' Liability is clear enough.

Ever yours sincerely, W. E. GLADSTONE.

(The letter to E. Marjoribanks, of which Mr. Gladstone writes above, follows.)

## SECRET

BIARRITZ, *February 4, 1894.*

MY DEAR MARJORIBANKS,—I thank you for yr. interesting lr., but no comment need be made on it at present, inasmuch as our opponents appear to have done for us what we were not clever enough to do for ourselves, namely, altered the situation.



It seems as though they had raised the question wh. it wd. certainly be *premature* for me to answer to-day and from this place, namely, whether the H. of Lords has or has not so filled now the cup of its misdeeds as to make it perhaps the proper time for putting to the country the question of our rejected or mutilated Bills *plus* the question of the H. of Lords itself.

How stands the list ?

Home Rule rejected.

Betterment (and what else ?) put on the shelf.

Employers' Liability } Fatally mutilated.

Local Govt.

Scotch Sea Fisheries ?

On the other hand, to the good :

Railway Hours.

Will you ever have a better opportunity is the big question wh. starts up, and wants an aye or no.

There are, I suppose, two difficulties.

1. A bad Register, wh. cd. only be faced. 2. Time—with ref. to the new financial year.

I cannot but think this might be circumvented, possibly by re-voting all the present services and continuing the appropriations for, say, one month, wh. wd. make the financial situation rather easier than it was in 1874 upon the meeting of the new Parliament and beginning of the new Govt.

Or there might be some better way. The objection to mere novelty, presuming law and principle to be saved, wd. be as nothing in comparison with the vast importance of a prompt and timely submission to the nation upon a group of questions wh. taken together amounts to this, whether the people of the U.K. are or are not to be a self-governing people.

Ever sinc. yrs., W. E. G.

BIARRITZ, February 6, 1894.

MY DEAR WEST,—It is difficult to lick into shape a new and strange idea conceived to meet new and strange circumstances. Very likely I am bungling still ; and of

course all depends on the great If. But if it be necessary to provide 4 or 5 weeks with money, this might be done by simple votes on account for the service of the new year, on the financial basis of the old one. This would not make a financial year of 18 months, but a financial year on the old basis of expenditure or provision for expenditure, and 11 months on the new prepared and considered in the usual manner.

Sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

FEBRUARY 6.—Breakfasted with Arnold Morley and Asquith. Put the proposal of Mr. Gladstone before them. Both (Asquith particularly) scouted it. Did not think Employers' Liability Bill dead.

Then to Kimberley, who spoke most wisely on the whole situation, and explained at great length the Parish Councils' Bill as it stood, and how impossible it would be to throw it out and attack the Lords on its present aspect. He, individually, is strongly for Mr. Gladstone's retirement. The position is impossible. He and some others do not, I am sorry to say, believe in Mr. Gladstone's going, or meaning to go.

I saw Kimberley again in the evening, when he said that Ripon, Spencer, Herschell, Fowler, Asquith, and Rosebery agreed in the impossibility of Mr. Gladstone's proposal of a dissolution, and a telegram was being sent to the effect, instead of the suggested substitute: "Grave difficulties, but will be discussed."

Arnold Morley came in—Spencer also—and we went over the old and new stories again and again.

How terribly sad it is!

We must all try to get him to go, on the ground of his failing eyesight, at the end of this Session—that is the best solution of a miserable state of affairs.

Saw Kimberley again, who was on the point of telegraphing: "Your proposal is impossible."

I suggested that he should water it down a little, but he refused to alter it in any way.

Dined at home and got Edward Marjoribanks' telegram agreeing with this decision.

(The three letters that follow are all referring to the subject of the resignation and dissolution :)

ADMIRALTY, WHITEHALL, *February 6, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I did not write to Mr. G. abt. the Queen, as you suggested, because I did not see well how I could assume the knowledge requisite to inspire me for my remarks.

Nor shd. I like to assume that he had settled to resign.

As to Acton, I am very glad that you did not give Mr. G. the figures. When I saw Acton before, he was full of inquiries, and told me he was in correspondence with Mr. G. on them. I thought it might be useful to give him the information, which he said wld. be useful to him, but I purposely omitted sending details to Mr. G. I shall be sorry if Mr. G. resented my giving him the information.

I shall be very anxious to hear what message or suggestion you are bringing here.

I saw your telegram to Kimberley in the H. of Lords.

You must have had a very unpleasant time at Biarritz. I trust that you have got clear of influenza; it was very unlucky that you shd. have had it. I still keep a firm hope that the precedent of 1859 and 1860 will not hide its weight, and will help to make him accept the proposals that I unfortunately have been obliged to make. It is very grievous to me to think that I am the chief cause of this grievous difference of opinion, but I feel so clear as to the course which I had to adopt that I cannot reproach myself for what I have done.

Yr. very truly, SPENCER.

A line will find me on *Friday* morning at 7 Albyn Place, Edinburgh, and on *Saturday* morn at Penketh, Wavertree, Liverpool.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER OFFICE, LONDON, W.C., *February 7, 1894.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I did not trouble to write a letter to Biarritz, partly because I was not sure if you were there, partly because I knew you would have told me had there been anything you could usefully and properly tell. But now that I hear you have returned to

London I should like to ask you whether it is too late to seek to affect any decision that may have been taken. Three things have struck me since the rumour was published. One is that the effect of discouragement—dismay one might say—has been greater on our people than was even preseen [*sic*]. The second that while everyone is wound up to a struggle with the Lords, the set-back to the energy and hopefulness of the party will be more serious than at any other moment since the Government was formed. The third, that what has passed will do something to injure the dignity and solemnity which befit the retirement of the greatest figure of this generation or the last. For that dignity we are right to be solicitous. A retirement ought to be announced in a different wise from that which the circulation of these rumours will now permit. Not a word should be said to anyone till the Sovereign knows, and till the statement of grounds can be concurrently made. Is there any use in writing anything to him on the subject before we all meet in London? Of course I would not do so unless there were considerable likelihood of its helpfully reinforcing other representations. And probably all that can be said has been said. I hope to be in London on Monday.

Yours always truly, J. BRYCE.

NINEWELLS, CHIRKSIDE, BERWICKSHIRE, *February 8, 1894.*

MY DEAR ALGY,—I did not write to you at Biarritz, partly because I did not know when you were leaving, and partly because my letter to Mr. G. was an answer to yours. The idea of our immediate dissolution is preposterous.

1. Because we are not ready.
2. Because the Lords have not yet filled up their cup of wrath.
3. Because we could not do so without making our Naval statement so that difficulty could not be avoided.
4. Because a registration Bill—one man one vote—in some form must be sent up to the Lords before we think of such a course.

My plan for next Session is to devote it entirely to  
1. Budget. 2. Registration. 3. Evicted Tenants, Ire-

land. 4. Equalization of Rates (London). 5. If the Local Govt. (England and Wales) Bill receives the Royal Assent in any form, Local Govt. (Scotland). Announce intention to dissolve when that programme has been disposed of. Govt. should take whole time of House at once. The dissolution could be in the autumn, if the Lords throw out the Registration Bill; if they don't, as soon as the operations of its provisions could be brought into action. I don't think it's possible to reckon with certainty on the Sea Fisheries Bill being disposed of by dinner-time on Monday. It should be, but that's very different to it will be. Why not a Cabinet at the ordinary hour, to be resumed at the social board in the evening if events so shape themselves? Yours always, E. M.

We are going to hunt to-morrow, Friday, and catch a 3.45. train at Berwick which lands us at Kings X 11. Shall be in Downing St. Saturday morning.

FEBRUARY 8.—To Rosebery, who thought that the break-up of 1874 and 1886 would pale before the smash now.

L. Lawson had called on him about Egypt, and had incidentally told him that he had been offered the news<sup>1</sup> that subsequently appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but had refused it, saying if Mr. Gladstone had brought it personally he would have told him he did not know himself—then, when it appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Lawson had telegraphed and Rosebery replied:—I agree in the *views* expressed yesterday—News!

Rosebery does not yet believe in his going. I said: "What do words mean?"

He said: "Nothing." Did not Mr. Gladstone say he would sooner put a torch to Westminster Abbey than send a soldier to Egypt?

Yes, I said, but that was only a momentary exaggeration.

Saw Ripon, who said he had heard a criticism on me, which was that I should not have sent my telegram *en clair* to Kimberley—but surely it was harmless.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the news of the impending resignation.

## CHAPTER XVIII

1894

### THE BEGINNING OF THE END

FEBRUARY 10.—Saw Edward Marjoribanks and talked over the old, old story.

He read me a capital letter to Mr. Gladstone, against dissolution. He was still cheerful!!

To service at St. Mary Magdalene's. A year since Richard<sup>1</sup> died! What a thing to be without all this bother and trouble for ever!

Saw Harcourt, and explained to him the position—reading to him the letter to Mundella.

Of course Mr. Gladstone's object in wishing for a Cabinet dinner was that he might announce his resignation to his colleagues, without being under the necessity of announcing it to Her Majesty.

With my wife to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone at Charing Cross (both looking very weak and frail), then back to Downing Street, where he had a discussion with E. Marjoribanks on House of Lords, Dissolution, and programme for next Session. Mr. Gladstone argued strongly for Dissolution, though not one of his colleagues will agree. The iron was now hot against the Lords, he said; he was not prepared to make concessions on Employers' Liability Bill or Parish Councils' Bill, unless they came down from their high horse, and he would go to the country not on any particular measures but on the question of who was to rule, Lords or Commons?

We might avoid Naval increase by taking on last year's estimates for a month. E. Marjoribanks put difficulties before him—impossibilities they are.

Mr. Gladstone asked me to dine, but I could not face

<sup>1</sup> Sir Algernon's brother.

it. The position is no better, and I fear he is buoying himself up with the hope of a Dissolution.

FEBRUARY 12.—A great dinner at Rosebery's. Ambassadors, and, as Lady Granville calls them, "Dips," and also Prince of Wales—who sent messages to Mr. Gladstone.

FEBRUARY 13.—To Armitstead's, who gave me a sad account of his five weeks' sojourn at Biarritz.

George Murray told me very nicely that his first appreciation of me was when I gave evidence before the Commission of Trade Depression, when I was so unlike the ordinary official—amusing, and charming all the Commissioners.

Mr. Gladstone writes confidentially to Cowan, the President of his Midlothian Committee, as it must not be known that he means to go till after the conflict with the Lords on the Parish Councils' Bill.

FEBRUARY 14.—A pathetic talk. The next day I had suggested letting H. Ponsonby know the truth, and so taking the responsibility of keeping Her Majesty in the dark off Mr. Gladstone's shoulders.

He settles to write, alluding to his eyes only: telling me that before Biarritz he could read the "Résumé" in the *Daily Chronicle*, now he cannot.

Discussed Honours—A. Hayter for Privy Councillorship, Welby for Peerage. I urged his usefulness in House of Lords and possibly at the Bank of England, his means, etc. Was very friendly to proposal. S. Lyttelton for C.B. G. Murray, I said, would be sure to be asked to go on, but would probably prefer going to Treasury.

Spoke highly of Shand, and would recommend him to go on with his successor.

FEBRUARY 16.—To hear Harcourt's Budget. Good and clear, but mostly read. Very much on my proposals as to Death Duties, only not so far. Welby gave us a great dinner afterwards. I sat next to John Morley and Fowler.

John Morley said I was very wrong to cut all my old friends. Was pleased at his having to conduct the Registration Bill, as it took him "out of the kitchen."

Harcourt, in a very clever little speech, proposed Welby's health, who made a very modest answer.

Met John Morley, and discussed the situation in spite of our agreement not to speak about it. Morley said he had lost all faith in Acton, as I have. He said it was sad to see Mr. Gladstone in the House, alone, and disappointed at getting no concession from his colleagues as he expected. He had asked him if no concession could be made by Spencer in regard to his proposal for bisection.

He was prepared to go to the length of three battleships; which of his colleagues, he asked John Morley, would approach nearest to his views? J. M. replied G. Shaw-Lefevre. So John Morley went to him and found that he was prepared for seven battleships, which made any rapprochement impossible.

I urged the anxiety I felt, first for a decent retirement and then to get him away from London at once.

John Morley said he could not ask Armitstead after his sufferings to do it, as he had told him all he had gone through.

Then as to the future, Loulou had made it very clear that Harcourt would be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*.

Spencer declared that Rosebery was really in earnest in wishing to stay at the Foreign Office, even under Harcourt as Prime Minister. Acland would prefer his going altogether.

Loulou had offered John Morley the Chancellorship of the Exchequer with two millions deficit!

C.-Bannerman had said that he knew nothing about figures, and as to a Consul he should not know him if he met him in the street!

Spoke to John Morley of his letter to Mr. Gladstone' which I thought the most beautiful and touching I had ever read.

"But it only produces wrath," said John Morley, particularly in that part where he had alluded to his remaining in Parliament. I said on that I had had constant conversations with him, and on my return to Biarritz I told Mr. Gladstone that his colleagues would not believe in his staying in Parliament.



John Morley said someone would be wanted to negotiate between all the conflicting parties in forming a new Government. Not, I said, I. Fowler was the loudest and most chicken-hearted of all and was already clamorous, and Harcourt, Spencer, and Rosebery all too much interested in Leadership.

Perhaps the Queen would send for Kimberley, who would do very well.

John Morley asked if I was to be a Peer, and I said I could not afford it.

To Mr. Gladstone: gave him a memorial from friends in Surrey, Sussex, and Hants in favour of reduction of armaments, and another from Leith in favour of an increase.

Said he would talk to Sir J. Pease—which shows how important it is to get him away!

FEBRUARY 17.—Asked Mr. Gladstone whether he was going to make any announcement to the Cabinet at the dinner to-night.

“What announcement have I to make?” he said.

“Well, about your intentions.”

“Oh no, they know everything.”

I then suggested getting Ponsonby up, but he thought Thursday or Friday time enough. “For, before that,” he said, “we shall know what the Lords will do, and they may alter things, for in the case of a dissolution I should go to the country with them.”

Rosebery did not like Harcourt’s graduation,<sup>1</sup> but told him that he was a young man who had great possessions and went away sorrowing.

To Lady Tweedmouth’s. Had a talk with Randolph and her. He was very sanguine. Thought it an admirable Budget, but said he and the Tories were bound to support the Trade!

Goschen admitted that he rather agreed with Harcourt on the question of graduation. Lord Salisbury had declared that if the Government were beaten and went out, he would not come in.

Randolph said Arthur Balfour behaved well on his privilege question as to Rosebery.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in taxation by Death Duties.

Did not like Goschen, who was always whispering to Arthur Balfour, but they must get what they could out of him.

FEBRUARY 18.—After all not a word said about anything at the Cabinet dinner.

Rosebery having said: "I hope proper precautions have been taken to prevent anything being overheard," "The usual ones, I presume," said Mr. Gladstone, "but I do not think there will be anything particular to hear!"

Dined at E. Marjoribanks' and had a long talk with C.-Bannerman. Deplored isolation. C.-Bannerman agreed with me that they should meet and settle something. Harcourt and Rosebery were the two obstacles, and Fowler was not worth considering.

Suggested a friendly dinner, so as to part friends—in which he agreed.

FEBRUARY 19.—Miss Margot's engagement to Asquith announced.

C.-Bannerman called and saw Mr. Gladstone.

After the levée, Kimberley asked me to see him at the House of Lords. Said that the Ministers had been made fools of at the Cabinet dinner, and he wanted to know if I really believed Mr. Gladstone was going, as he did not know what to think. I said there were only two things that could prevent it: their giving in about the Naval Programme, or recommending a Dissolution—otherwise it was absolute.

Then, he said, the Cabinet had not been told, and there ought to be one certainly on Parish Councils.

Met Lady Randolph Churchill coming away from Devonshire House. She began talking about the *Pall Mall Gazette* and Mr. Gladstone. I said, the assertion as to Mr. Gladstone's retirement was a lie, but it did not require much of a prophet to say that a man of 84, whose eyes were gradually getting worse, would some day retire. Of course, in the nature of things it could not last for ever, or indeed very long.

What did I think of a dissolution? I said I was sure there would be none, unless unforeseen circumstances, such as a defeat, were to happen.

Went together to congratulate Margot, who ran in and said: "Why have you told Jenny (Lady Randolph) Mr. Gladstone is going to retire?"

Told Mr. Gladstone Kimberley said he did not know the real situation, and wanted a Cabinet, as his colleagues wished to hear what was going to be done.

Mr. Gladstone said it was most extraordinary, and repeated what had happened at Tuesday's Cabinet. He had opposed Spencer's programme.

George Trevelyan wisely said we should gather in the fruits of the Session.

Harcourt and Rosebery more strongly ("indecent," Mr. Gladstone said) wished to "turn him out" at once. John Morley has said something as to consideration, but his determination was made clear to them. This was not so, as on my asking him after Tuesday's Cabinet, which was supposed to be one of deliberation only, whether he would have another before he went to Biarritz, he had said: "Certainly not, that would necessitate a decision." Then he explained his position—that he could not resign till the speech on the prorogation was accepted by the Cabinet, or the Queen might throw it over as without authority if it commented on the conduct of the House of Lords. However, a Cabinet was settled for Friday.

Found Loulou, who said his father and others met, and said Kimberley must tell Mr. Gladstone that they wanted a decision; which ended in Kimberley's telling me, who have daily to bell the cat! However, it can't now last long.

FEBRUARY 22.—Mr. Gladstone told me of his peaceful interview with Harcourt yesterday, and read his proposed paragraph for the Queen's Speech—regretting differences between two Houses only.

Discussed the situation, Edward Marjoribanks rather thinking H. Ponsonby bound to repeat to Her Majesty all he heard. From past experiences, I rather differ.

John Morley came on Irish Financial Commission, and talking with him afterwards, he agreed as to Henry Ponsonby's coming, but said it was important now to get Mr. Gladstone away.

Then about Harcourt, to whom he had spoken very plainly, saying that it was entirely his fault that they did not now command the situation ; but he could quote to him a letter of Scott's to Lockhart, referred to in Sir George Cornewall Lewis's *Administrations of Great Britain*, in which, speaking of Canning, he says :

"If he had been courteous to his colleagues, controlled his temper and not been overbearing"—or words to that effect—"he might now have been at the top of the tree."

Scott's actual words, I find on reference to his letters, were: "I believe the predominant motive in the bosom of every one of them was, personal hostility to Canning, and that with more prudence, less arbitrary manners, and more attention to the feelings of his colleagues he would have stepped *nem. con.* into the situation of Prime Minister, for which his eloquence and talent naturally pointed him out. They objected to the man more than the statesman," etc., etc.

Rosebery, Asquith, John Morley, and Harcourt had met, and John Morley had told Rosebery that as a Peer he could only be a nominal head of the Government.

W. Harcourt had stipulated that he was to see all foreign dispatches, manage alone all House of Commons' business, and be consulted on all patronage. C.-Bannerman to go to Foreign Office.

"Then," I said, "I suppose you have made some conditions as regards yourself?" He said, "What should you do in my place?" I said, "I should insist on Home Rule being in the forefront." "Yes," he said, "so I have; and another, that I should stay where I am only for three months." I said, "You are the only man necessary for the Government." "*Raison de plus*," he said, "why I should not have the most detestable place in it." "Oh!" I said; if it is only change of office, I don't care.

To City and Waterloo Railway, where Colonel Davies<sup>1</sup> talked of my magnificent public service!!

<sup>1</sup> I think this would be Colonel (afterwards Sir Horatio) Davies, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1897.

Found on return Henry Ponsonby was put off—and am sorry.

Saw Harcourt, who said, if Henry Ponsonby knew, he must tell Her Majesty, who would at once send him to Salisbury and Devonshire; and that Parliament would not be up till Monday week—March 5.

FEBRUARY 23.—Edward and Lady Fanny Marjoribanks urged me strongly to take a Peerage when Mr. Gladstone asked me what I should like. I told them that pecuniary circumstances would make it impossible, and when, on the next day, Mr. Gladstone put the question to me, I said I should like the honour of a Privy Councillorship.

He at once acceded to this proposal, but did not think there was a precedent, though of course Her Majesty would not object.

I mentioned the fact that I knew of no instance where anybody, not in the Cabinet, had been allowed to report to the Prince of Wales what happened at the Cabinet, by consent of the Cabinet, and approved of by Her Majesty. He said that was convincing.

Edward Marjoribanks came and discussed Parish Councils' Bill. Mr. Gladstone against any giving way—and passing the Bill, if necessary, under protest.

Edward Marjoribanks said the Party wanted a strong pronunciamento—about the Lords. I said would it not be possible to get the Queen to approve of the Speech before he dotted the “i's” in the Commons?

Then about Hayter's wish to be a P.C.—he could be told he would be formally handed over to Mr. G.'s successor.

Saw Harcourt—very nice—and suggested that he should say a few words of farewell at the Cabinet. He said he would get Kimberley to do so with him, as the two oldest members.

Said also they were all deeply obliged to me, and he did not think they could have got on until now without me.

Henry Ponsonby came. Mr. Gladstone only asked him to ask the Queen whether he might write to her in confidence.

Apropos of John Morley's account of engagements, Edward Hamilton, who is no doubt in Rosebery's con-

fidence, assures me there is no chance of his accepting Harcourt as Leader.

FEBRUARY 25.—No telegram from Henry Ponsonby, but a letter saying: Queen decided to accept the terms proposed by Mr. Gladstone—was it Dissolution? Mr. Gladstone said “nothing affecting Parliament,” and told me all this amid a crowd at Chapel Royal!

WINDSOR CASTLE, *February 24, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Queen said she would not bind herself to secrecy about matters where she must consult friends. Was it dissolution he wanted to propose. I replied I could not say; all I could say was that I would ask him.

She won't keep some plan a secret which might be a sort of plot in which she would be the responsible actor—without consulting her friends.

I have written to him.

Yours very truly, HY. PONSONBY.

Of course, if wanted I could go up to London to-morrow.

FEBRUARY 26.—Met Lord Rosebery walking with Benn.<sup>1</sup> Told him the troubles there were, in which he sympathized. He thought history would not think well of Mr. Gladstone in this transaction. The delay was doing the Party much harm. He did not see why it should still be a secret. Was Mr. Gladstone delaying in order that failing to make a Government without him, which was probable, he might be called on to stay on his own terms. I said that would not help, for you would break up again in a week on the Navy.

When I got to Downing Street I found a telegram, which Mr. Gladstone had answered the night before, asking if rumours were true which were abroad as to his resignation and that he had tendered it to Her Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone had answered:

“Rumours such as described wholly unknown in Downing Street, and without foundation.

“PRIVATE SECRETARY.”

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Benn (afterwards Sir John B.), Liberal M.P. for St. George's, East.

Harcourt told me that Princess Louise had told him that Henry Ponsonby had brought down Mr. Gladstone's resignation, but that the Queen had begged him to defer it till after her return from Florence.

Rosebery reproached me for not going to see him.

Edward Marjoribanks thinks Harcourt now inevitable.

Mr. Gladstone has a dinner on March 4!! and talks of Dollis Hill<sup>1</sup> and accepting an invitation in May!!!

FEBRUARY 27.—Henry Ponsonby called when I was at breakfast. He said he would not ask any questions, and I said I would not answer any. He said the Queen was making a fuss, imagining that she was to listen to a proposal to abolish the House of Lords, etc. I said it was very absurd, that we, after twenty-five years' confidences, should not be able to speak openly, and I would go and ask Mr. Gladstone, whom I found at first in a most unreasonable mood. He was very cross about the Queen's want of trust and confidence; whereas I thought the Queen might fairly resent his want of confidence. I told him it was only reasonable that Her Majesty, receiving such a message from her Prime Minister, should be apprehensive and nervous. And then I asked him why I should not commit an indiscretion and go and speak to Henry Ponsonby. He said I might if I would make a condition with him not to tell Her Majesty. I felt and said I could hardly do that, and then assured him that the murder was out, and read him "House and Lobby" in *Daily Chronicle*, and told him I knew that Labby knew it—and I thought Professor Stewart<sup>2</sup> also, and W. Reid. Showed him E. T. Cook's letter referring to further rumours of Mr. Gladstone's "imminent resignation"—to which he wished me to reply in the terms of his telegram of Sunday. But this I absolutely declined to do. In the end I replied that I could only refer him to the Biarritz telegram, adding for his guidance that the gravity of impaired eyesight was increasing rapidly.

<sup>1</sup> Dollis Hill was a house near Willesden of Lord Aberdeen's, and he often lent it to Mr. Gladstone, who used to retire there for quiet.

<sup>2</sup> I am told by a nephew of Mr. Gladstone's that this would almost certainly be Prof. James Stewart of Cambridge, who was greatly interested in the improvement of the status of the lower and lower middle classes.

To Henry Ponsonby. I said I could not bind him in any way, but might we speak as friends, and confidentially? not for the first time—to which he agreed. I then told him that my mountain-bred mouse was only Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and I thought that without breaking any faith he might tell Her Majesty that I had told him that Mr. Gladstone's communication would be that his eyes were getting rapidly worse, and she would guess the rest.

He went to her and told her, at which she was much surprised, and said she should be sorry in many ways. Henry Ponsonby said he did not know who else would have the authority he had over the extreme men in the Cabinet. Her Majesty agreed, and said some of them were troublesome. She was suffering from rheumatism and could not see Mr. Gladstone to-day, but to-morrow.

She wished to know whether I thought Mr. Gladstone's action would weaken the party, and what I thought would happen. I would not give an opinion on the first point, and on the second I thought she would send for Rosebery, but if she did what the Radicals would like she would send for Salisbury!

We then settled that Mr. Gladstone should write telling Her Majesty what she would hear to-morrow, and I returned to Downing Street—Henry Ponsonby being very grateful—and found Mr. Gladstone reasonable and pleased at my assurance that to-morrow's interview with Her Majesty would be pleasant.

Saw Lord Rosebery, looking very worn. He said he had not an idea what would happen.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., *February 27, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have only just heard from Welby what is to befall you when the great change comes.

I hope you will accept my most sincere congratulations. It came to my knowledge that you might perhaps have preferred an honour of another kind, and you do not need to be told that I think your services more than justify anything of the kind which you may wish for.

But Disraeli, who said many things that were not true, said one which I think *was* true, viz. that a Privy Coun-



cillorship is the highest honour that the Queen has it in her power to grant. I am heartily glad that you are to have it, and to have it as the last that our great master will ever bestow: a fact which seems to me to double its value.

Ever yours, A. GODLEY.

FEBRUARY 28.—Mr. Gladstone went to the Queen at 3 o'clock and told her of his intention to resign.

She was kind, and, I believe, "made no difficulty as to the succession."

Persuaded Mr. Gladstone to write to the Prince of Wales, but he said he ought not to get the letter till to-morrow, as Her Majesty was going to write to him from Windsor that evening.

Saw Francis Knollys, and explained the difficulties I had been in for eleven weeks past, which he fully understood. He said the Royal Family, with the exception of the Prince and Princess, hardly realize what a friend of theirs Mr. Gladstone has been, and what a loss he will be to the Royal Family.

Dined in Downing Street for the last time—a smart dinner: Italian Minister, Breadalbanes, Ripons, Lady Granville, Spencer Lyttelton, Miss Peel. Had a talk to Lady Granville and Breadalbane about memoirs and why Lord Granville had not written any.

MARCH 1.—Mr. Gladstone's last Cabinet.

Kimberley and Harcourt settled to say farewell on behalf of the members generally; both looked rather oppressed. Kimberley came into my room afterwards with tears rolling down his cheeks. He said it was most touching, and that Harcourt had broken down. Mr. Gladstone had been quite calm; said he was sorry for the differences of opinion that had arisen, but that in any case the time had come when his eyesight must force him to retire.

Council to be on Saturday for the Speech.

E. Marjoribanks says it will be impossible for Rosebery and W. Harcourt to compose their differences.

To House of Commons; a pathetic evening. Mr. Gladstone's speech—I hope his last—was clear, good, and

admirably delivered, and the point was clinched rather injudiciously by Arthur Balfour, in a very rattling speech, who said it was a declaration of war against the Lords, and then he gave himself away by saying a representative assembly could not exist unless controlled by an Upper Chamber !

Saw Rosebery, who said, "This delay is dreadful, but as for me, *j'y suis et j'y reste*." We shall see.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., March 1, 1894.

MY DEAR WEST,—I admit a certain amount of responsibility for the troubles and anxieties which have lain upon you for the last year and a half, but only in so far as I was one of those who advised what was really the only possible course. And I must be allowed to say that, although it has been a difficult and often a distasteful task to you, I do not in the smallest degree regret the advice that I gave ; and I believe that you yourself, when a little time has passed (if, indeed, it is not so already), will feel, as I do, that the honour of having undertaken and carried through such a task outweighs any distinction that the Queen can bestow.

Yours ever, A. GODLEY.

Dined with Welby at the "Amphitryon" and to "Criterion."

MARCH 2.—A long talk with Mr. Gladstone, who was much touched by the Prince of Wales' letter to him, which he thought beautiful ; was sorry to differ with the Liberal Party in their wish to abolish the House of Lords. He objected to it because he thought it might bring the House of Commons in direct conflict with the Crown, and then he dreaded a second Elected Chamber, which would be too strong.

I did not tell him that the first reform should be the expulsion of the Bishops, and he did not approve of my suggestion that the veto should be limited, as then he said the Lords would always exercise it in the way they do now !

He spoke of his first words in Parliament, being just

61 years ago; of the Queen, who objected to his speech yesterday, and ranged herself with the Lords.

Asked me to say good-bye to Knollys, who had been so staunch and useful, and had told me that the Prince and Princess of Wales were the only members of the Royal Family who knew what they were losing by Mr. Gladstone's retirement.

Ripon and Lady Ripon came in to see me: told me the Queen had been very gracious; that Spencer's last news from Rosebery was that he would accept leadership; Kimberley was to go to Foreign Office; Fowler or Bryce to India; G. O. Trevelyan to Duchy of Lancaster; and E. Marjoribanks to be Secretary for Scotland.

Mr. Gladstone said Lord Salisbury was like Jehu the son of Nimshi, who drives furiously.

Told E. Cook I could give him two translations by Mr. Gladstone of old odes.

Ripon very *reconnaissant* for what I had done, and speaking of the impossibility of doing without me as Deputy Prime Minister!

Cowan, the Secretary of the Midlothian Liberal Association, asked me to stand for Midlothian on Mr. Gladstone's retirement, which of course I refused, though I was fully conscious of the honour done me by such a proposal.

MARCH 3.—Had luncheon with Lady Spencer, who thinks it quite possible that Rosebery may still decline to be Prime Minister.

Mr. Gladstone came back at 3.40; told me that he had, after the Council, handed in his resignation to the Queen, who had not yet accepted it and that he was still Prime Minister. I told him that he had then better appoint Chesterfield Captain of the Yeomen of Guard, which poor Lord Vernon surrendered from ill-health, which he did.

Oh, these endless delays! Met Randolph Churchill, who made me go home with him. On the way Wheeler,<sup>1</sup> the Pressman, said H. Ponsonby was now with Rosebery. Rosebery deplored Mr. Gladstone's last speech against

<sup>1</sup> Arthur H. Wheeler, I think—editor of the *Home and Colonial Mail*.

the Lords, though they had behaved very foolishly. Harcourt would never serve under Salisbury, though he could under Arthur Balfour, who was just like him. R. Churchill told me of the success of his African mines. The Tories must keep the Government in and they would drop Home Rule, which I denied.

Met Hartington, who asked for news, but I had none.

MARCH 4.—I came down early to Downing Street and found Mr. Gladstone had had a letter from the Queen, which he gave me to read; a statement to the effect that she had already accepted his resignation (to which Mr. Gladstone demurred), and saying he was quite right to go and save his eyes; she hoped he would with Mrs. Gladstone have many years of enjoyment of life. She added that she would have been very glad to have offered him a Peerage had she not been sure he would have refused it.

“And this,” said Mr. Gladstone with a sigh, “is the only record that will remain of 51 years as Privy Councillor.”

He then said he had fully explained to Her Majesty the reasons for the honours which he now officially recommended.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W., *March 4, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—Thanks for your letter, which I am forwarding to the Prince of Wales.

Let me heartily congratulate you.<sup>1</sup> I am sure that you thoroughly deserve the honour which is about to be conferred upon you, and in saying this I am sure everybody will agree with me.

I am very sorry indeed that our official, but not I hope our private, intercourse is about to finish. Nothing, perhaps I may be allowed to say, could have been more pleasant and agreeable than my communications have been with you, and the Prince of Wales, I know, has always appreciated your anxiety to keep him informed of what was taking place.

I will be in Downing Street at one o'clock to-morrow.

Yours sincerely, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

<sup>1</sup> On his Privy Councillorship.

MARCH 5.—Read some pretty letters addressed to Mr. Gladstone, notably one from Asquith, which pleased him.

Poor E. Marjoribanks a Peer!<sup>1</sup>

MARCH 6.—Murray told me Mr. Gladstone wanted to have a long discussion with me on the Navy, so I fled, being very anxious to avoid dotting i's on a subject on which we differed, at the end.

45 KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS, W., *March 5.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The enclosed (which please return) is the only communication I have had with any of our Progressive friends.

At that meeting I shall like to have the power of proposing you as Chairman of County Council, if things look favourable. Will you accept? I should not disclose your willingness to act unless I saw that your election was likely, and perhaps I shall not be able to make the proposal at all.

But if I must, can I say you will accept the office?

Yours sincerely, ARTHUR ARNOLD.<sup>2</sup>

P.S.—I shall be at L.C.C. to-morrow at 3 o'clock for ten minutes in the Finance Committee.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *March 6, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—The Queen at once perceived the propriety of adding you to the Privy Council; a fitting consummation, I think, to your long and distinguished career. Your strength of claim was indeed threefold: the special service with the Prince of Wales; long and effective discharge of high civil office; and close and intimate service to a Minister. In this last I have had a deep concern. Your great knowledge of life as well as your general capacity has furnished aids which I particularly wanted, and which probably no other person could have rendered with quite equal effect. For all this, and for your inexhaustible assiduity together with un-

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded as 2nd Lord Tweedmouth on his father's death.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Arnold was himself sometime Chairman of the L.C.C. Sir Algernon West never did accept the Chairmanship, though pressed to do so.

failing patience, I can only record my grateful thanks and my earnest wishes that all good may attend you.

Believe me, ever sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Gladstone this evening was good enough to dine with his old staff at Brooks's; the following were present: R. E. Welby, A. Godley, A. E. West, R. H. Meade, J. Carmichael, E. W. Hamilton, H. Primrose, G. Leveson-Gower, H. Seymour, S. Lyttelton, G. Murray, and H. Shand. In the course of the few words he spoke after dinner he said something after the following:

"I am greatly indebted to you all, firstly for your great kindness, secondly for a very excellent dinner, and thirdly for so many of you being present on this occasion.

"No man has received more able assistance from his private secretaries during his political life than I have, nor could any man have been served more faithfully, loyally, and devotedly than I have been in the last thirty years, by those who have been so closely associated with me in the many important schemes and measures with which I have been connected during that time.

"No men have more richly and honestly deserved the honours and positions which have been bestowed upon them, and I *never* recommended any one for an honour which in my opinion he had not fully deserved, or for a position he was not fully capable of filling with credit to himself and the department, and the Civil Service is flooded with these men who occupy or have occupied with the greatest distinction the highest positions in the Service."

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## CHAPTER XIX

1894

### OUT OF HARNESS

MARCH 10.—My wife drove me to Paddington on my way to Windsor to be sworn of the Privy Council.

Kimberley, Tweedmouth, Fowler, G. Lefevre, Bryce, and H. Gladstone there. Rosebery came just in time for 1.10 train with a very Sphinx-like face, anxious and nervous-looking, never spoke but walked straight into the carriage and disappeared with Kimberley. Charles Peel taught me my lesson on my way down. Passed Eton and the Sanatorium where I had been the first boy admitted for scarlet fever. Curious, looking back and thinking how little I thought of passing these old haunts one day as a Privy Councillor, at the end of a career which began as a junior clerk.

We were met by Cowell and Lord Bridport, and taken into the rooms looking over Datchet, Eton, and Stoke Poges—lovely. Then a long luncheon—old ladies, etc.—then into the corridor, where we were kept waiting for more than half an hour. Any picture of Mr. Gladstone, four times Prime Minister, was conspicuous by its absence. Dizzy, Northcote (bust), and Salisbury—no Mr. Gladstone. Then into a little room where the Queen was sitting on the end of a sofa, with a writing-table in front of her, looking very old; an immovable face, no smile of welcome or congratulation whatever. Knelt and kissed her hand and swore. Herbert Gladstone followed. She never asked after his father or said a word to either of us. Rosebery took his oath as First Lord; then we left.

I found A. Hayter in Windsor and drove with him to South Hill.

MARCH 14.—Government defeated by 2 on an amend-

ment to the Address moved by Labby, calling for the abolition of the House of Lords. An unlucky beginning.

Met Spencer Lyttelton, who told me Harcourt *and* Asquith had taken it very seriously and talked of resignation. All put right in the evening.

MARCH 20.—Met George Trevelyan, who said that for three years before the French Revolution the Houses had sat uninterruptedly: that we were in a time of slow revolution and should do the same.

Met poor Mundella, who had resigned his seat in the Cabinet on account of what had occurred in connection with the New Zealand Company of which he was a director. He said he hoped I should not believe he had done anything dishonourable, which was the last thing I should think of him.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *March 21, 1894.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—Mr. Gladstone seems pleased with his visit to Nettlehip, who is of opinion that an operation ought to take place on the eye which is worst pretty soon. This falls in with Mr. Gladstone's wishes, so I don't suppose there will be any visit to Wiesbaden.

Mr. Gladstone leaves Downing Street to-morrow—for ever, it is pretty safe to say.

From Brighton they go to Dollis, but after that nothing is settled. Miss Gladstone remains here till Saturday to keep an eye over things in general while the packing is going on.

She does not think her father has any wish or intention to attend the H. of Commons.

No candidate has been found for Midlothian, tho' it may eventually be Sir Thos. Carmichael. Harry has refused or I daresay Mr. Gladstone wd. have resigned very soon. As it is, Whitsuntide seems to be regarded the time when he had better make his bow. Mrs. G. is still in bed at Brighton and Dossie<sup>1</sup> has the measles, so Armitstead is now *tête-à-tête* with Mrs. Drew.

Yours very truly, H. SHAND.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Dorothy Drew.



ABINGER HALL, DORKING, *March 30, 1898.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I must congratulate you on succeeding to the L.C.C. and hope you will find it as interesting as I have done. There is a life and good fellowship about it which is very pleasant.

Not less am I glad that they have chosen a man of moderation and experience, as well as of zeal and ability. It speaks well for their future doings.

Believe me, very sincerely yours, FARRER.

APRIL 3.—Met Jenkyns on my way to Kingston, to be sworn as a J.P. for Surrey, who told me that there had been a row royal between Melvill, Karslake, and Harcourt, on the Death Duty question, and that there was to be 1*d.* Income Tax with allowance to landlords for repairs.

APRIL 5.—Called on George Murray at 10 Downing Street, where he has my old room. Harcourt still oppressed the Cabinet, and had read for two hours and a half extracts of his Budget Speech. Rosebery always insisted on going to see Kimberley instead of letting him come to Downing Street, in order that he might escape.

APRIL 6.—Dined in Grosvenor Square with Sir Charles and Lady Tennant. Margot, Asquith, A. Lyttelton, George Curzon, R. Rodd, Mr. and Miss Haldane. The Asquiths had got G. Barrington's old house, 20 Cavendish Square. Asquith told me I was quite wrong to keep out of the way of them all, but I know I am right.

APRIL 20.—On going to Dollis Hill I found Mr. Gladstone in bed, but he cheered up on seeing me. We discussed the position of the Government and the difficulties and peculiarities of Rosebery and Harcourt, who had opposed and thwarted everything he had proposed all the time of his Government, and then Harcourt in his farewell letter saying he had done all he could in every way to help and support him, and Mr. Gladstone thought he believed it. Rosebery had spoken to him about disarmament, but how could we propose it without cancelling our increased Navy vote? Rosebery's speech about convincing England in connection with Home Rule was most unfortunate and easily answered by Irishmen, who

might say (and here he became earnest and very serious), "How are we to convince you as we did—by the Volunteers, by the tithes, when Wellington said it was yielding or Civil War (or by some third thing I forget), which are the only means that ever have convinced England?"

As to Budget, he did not like it as much as my plan, though it was on those lines; hoped Harcourt would extend a simple 80s. stamp, etc., to £500, etc., etc.

Thought Balfour had improved since he had left Ireland; had meant to go up to-night for the Coburg vote, but was forbidden. I was glad. Told me that an awkward incident had occurred at Windsor when he gave in his resignation; the Queen told Acton to send in Kimberley, and Acton by mistake sent in Harcourt, who thought he was going to be commanded to form a Government.

MAY 26.—I dined with Asquith and sat next John Morley, who was as agreeable as ever. Discussed everybody. Harcourt's greatness, which he thought very great, eclipsing Asquith, but spoiled by his childish temper. Rosebery was too big to go and smash Chamberlain. Goschen very clever and believed in as a financier, but a failure, really giving himself away. Arthur Balfour took the interest of the people more than anybody. Sexton and Dillon good and honest, but always feminine and impatient. Lamented Mundella and Government's position and Coleridge's clinging to office.<sup>1</sup> When they discussed who was to bell the cat with Fitzjames Stephen, Morley said he was a queer bear to offer a bun to.

I told John Morley I was sorry they had not put E. Grey at Board of Trade; so was he, and said it was absurd to keep him at the Foreign Office, always that place of humbug and intrigue and fraud, and they were silly enough to want to fill up the seventeen in the Cabinet. He thought Lord Salisbury, notwithstanding his silly sayings, is a very big man, who interested him as having a wider and bigger grasp of statesmanship than anybody else.

As to men's chances, I said one came to every man. In the House of Commons, he agreed, not elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice, died the same year.

DOLLIS HILL, *June 19, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,<sup>1</sup>—I cannot resist sending you this poor expression of my sympathy on your prolonged and I fear not lightened anxiety. My own small though odious ailments have been sufficiently prolonged to give me lessons of the sick-room, more practical perhaps than I have been accustomed to receive, and such as in some degree to show me how important, or even how vital, a part suffering may have to supply in the discipline of life. We had hoped you were emerging, and soon to emerge wholly, from the solitudes of Lady West's severe illness. If they are still to be prolonged, we know the poverty of any consolation thus offered, and I can only hope and pray for you and for all your family that you may draw abundantly from the sure and only abundant wells of consolation.

Mr. Nettleship is well satisfied with me, but a slight accident due to my own carelessness caused me such a touch on the sensitive eyeball soon after the operation and has entailed some delay (I know not what, but conjecture of a week or a fortnight) in the process of recovery.

God be with you and bless you in all things.

Always sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

JULY 25.—Mr. Gladstone said that after Cobden and Bright, Chamberlain was the finest specimen of the Reformed Parliament.

50 GROSVENOR SQUARE, W., *June 28, 1894.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—At the last moment the last evening before I leave this country I write a few lines to tell you how profoundly I sympathise with you in your great loss and bereavement. I have known you so many years now that any loss which you have to bear up against makes me sad also. I wish before I went away, but I trust when I return in a year, I shall find that time has performed its unvarying work and mitigated some of the bitterness of grief.

Ever your faithful friend, RANDOLPH S. C.

<sup>1</sup> According to his constant rule, Sir Algernon makes scarcely any reference to his domestic affairs; but this and the two following letters refer to the last illness and death of Lady West.

DOLLIS HILL, N.W., *June 29, 1894.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I have not written to you since the great bereavement; that bereavement which makes a mark upon life not to be effaced.

And not, I assure you, because I did not think of you. Glad should I have been to accompany my wife to the service at St. James's. But I am told not.

I rejoice to think you have not suffered the misfortunes of those, too numerous in our day, who have abandoned or lost the key to the more severe dispensations of God, and hence cannot see that chastisement is a note of sonship and that He scourgeth all whom He receiveth. May that consolation be ever more and more freely given. We shall look with much interest to your plans for the future.

My few months control is not yet at an end; but the end is, I hope, approaching. My condition has justified my advisers in giving their sanctioning to our plans, and I am to start from Willesden on Monday at 2.11 straight for Pitlochrie, N.B.

God bless you and yours in all things.

Am sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

AUGUST 18.—Via Reading, where I inspected the prison, to Huntercombe, a pretty place near Taplow belonging to Mrs. Boyle, who wrote *Hours in a Garden*, and had let it to Ripons.

AUGUST 19.—Sunday. Very wet. Ripon was disappointed with Rosebery. Harcourt was in a better humour now, thinking that Rosebery had failed over the Congo Treaty. W. H. had said to him, "Fancy our foreign affairs being in the hands of two men who were unfit to manage a public-house," meaning Kimberley and Rosebery.

AUGUST 22.—Saw Asquith—very nice about Horace—and Rosebery, who was very cordial. Discussed the Budget and said Mr. Gladstone had told him that he had preferred my Budget to Harcourt's. He entirely agreed, so I feel flattered.

AUGUST 31.—Went to Dollis Hill and saw Mr. Gladstone; very well and beautifully hopeful. Discussed the

Budget, which he thought offended all the rules of sound finance, for it added complications to an already complicated tax; it embarrassed the land of the country, and acted unjustly in the case of settlements, holding out inducements to settle more than ever. He was disappointed in Milner and E. Hamilton. My scheme, he was good enough to say, was far better and would have avoided all these complications. Why did Harcourt not adopt it? I said that I was not an impartial judge, for of course I took a parental view of my own scheme, but I cordially approved of graduation, which was not new, but Goschen's opposition was monstrous. He had in his estate duty abolished consanguinity and impaired graduation.

Rosebery did not like it and the Cabinet had insisted on reducing the maximum from 10 to 8 per cent. I said Harcourt had not the courage to go in for my scheme, which he might have done seeing he had had an entire session.

Rosebery was at Dollis Hill when Harcourt came and had gone away to avoid him.

I told Mr. Gladstone I had a quantity of Lord Grey's letters. He said nobody cared for letters of a man of a past generation. No man had had such a mass of literature on his death as Peel, who was an individuality, but nobody cared for it now.

Sent him in the evening an extract from Rosebery's *Pitt*, page 24, where if you put Harcourt for Fox and Shelburne for Rosebery you had an exact repetition of history.

He did not think Rosebery had distinguished himself, but his position was most difficult, and speeches in the country, however good, did not help him.

Harcourt's position was very difficult, too. He agreed with me in all his good qualities, but even with them he was more disliked by his colleagues than anybody who had ever led the Commons.

NOVEMBER 24.—Went to Langham, near Oakham, which has been lent to the Asquiths.

Asquith began a long talk about Horace and his great anxiety to do something for him, as he felt the Government's tenure was insecure.

Rosebery and Harcourt were hardly on civil speaking terms with one another.

On Sunday to church and a walk with Margot—as delightful as ever—happy, I think, though rather depressed about her mother and about her ready-made family. Then a long walk and talk with Lady Ribblesdale, who assured me Margot was really happy but not well, overtired with hunting.

What a really adorable nature Lady Ribblesdale has! Her charm and vitality and overflowing natural spirits; surely there never was so charming a family.

Back to town.

## CHAPTER XX

1895

### VARIOUS ACTIVITIES

At the beginning of 1895 I was elected to the Guildford Parish Council, and regularly attended the meetings, at which the women were by far the most useful members.

The Sultan was furious at Mr. Gladstone's condemnatory speech,<sup>1</sup> and remonstrated with Kimberley, who told him that he was no longer a Minister, and was not responsible, but he must add that Mr. Gladstone only spoke what all Englishmen thought.

I went again for a delightful visit to Althorp. When Lord Spencer sold his famous library, he gave Lady Spencer a certain sum of money to buy less valuable books to fill the vacant shelves, and this she had done with great judgment, and had got together a most readable collection.

Lady Constance Leslie said Lady Cowper was very sore at Cowper's recall from Ireland. Lord Spencer said he had been badly treated by W. E. Forster, but he had already told him that he meant to resign. I heard that Lord Rosebery bought the original fine *Punch* cartoon by Tenniel called "Dropping the Pilot," the pilot being Bismarck, which he sent to the Kaiser, after he had discovered that, by a mistake, a Russian helmet was put on the Kaiser's head—which had to be altered.

On January 8 I went to Mrs. Henry Gladstone's after dinner, to see Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, who were on the way to the Riviera. I heard on the way of poor Henry Ponsonby's paralytic attack, for which I was very sorry, for in all our intercourse for many years, certainly since 1868, I have never found a truer, more confidential or

<sup>1</sup> On the atrocities of Turkish rule in Armenia.

cheerier friend. Mr. Gladstone was grieved, but not surprised, saying how the Queen "had worn out her servants"—Charles Grey, for whom he had a great regard, C. Phipps, Biddulph; but of all, Ponsonby he thought far the best.

Mr. Gladstone, to whom I complained of his doing too much, said he had not been cutting down trees, but only lopping branches off trees which had been wrecked in the last gale—the severest he had ever known—the great beech on the lawn at Hawarden having gone.

We talked a little of the Revenue, and he said how glad he was to hear that I was still working hard.

At 10 in the morning I went to see them off from Charing Cross—both looking very well and wonderfully young.

In the evening had an agreeable dinner with Armitstead, Welby, George Murray, G. Russell, Mr. Cope the artist, and H. Gladstone.

Talked with G. Russell about his father's old *Recollections* and changes in fashion; about Hastings Russell's<sup>1</sup> strange economies and stinginess combined with generosity. He once sent his wife and daughters to stay at a nephew's for a night on their way north, and wrote saying he could not imagine women who would give more trouble in a vicarage, and enclosed a cheque for £500. The nephew said he did not mind how many visits they paid him on similar terms.

Hastings Russell wrote a most offensive letter to Lord Somers about Tavistock's marriage. At the marriage Lady Somers said to him: "How happy this ought to make us old people! even Somers is getting well again." "Did not know he had been ill," said H. Russell. "Yes," she said, "very ill; he has not read any letters for months, but now, if you wish it, I can give him yours."

George Russell told us how Dizzy in a letter to his sister alluded to the first time—in the thirties—when he saw champagne glasses, which he described as saucers. Lord Alvanley said, alluding to the attenuated wine-glasses for champagne—"You might as well give me a thermometer."

Old Lady Galloway told George Russell that, staying

<sup>1</sup> 9th Duke of Bedford.



at Stafford House as a girl, having said she was going upstairs to fetch a book: "No, my dear," said the Duchess,<sup>1</sup> and rang the bell for the groom of the chambers to light and accompany her.

We had an argument about Arthur Balfour, whom Bob Reid praised, saying he had never said a word that could hurt a human creature. I challenged this, quoting his attack on Mr. Gladstone—an "indelible disgrace" on Kilmainham Treaty; and an attack on the Gordon affair, etc. Welby took it up and maintained that he was indifferent to suffering. Spoke of his temper with the Irishmen, and his cynicism; but admitted, as we all did, his personal charm.

George Russell said that Lord Salisbury was the same in everything—on which, at least, we all agreed.

Cope, who was painting Armitstead's picture, told us of an old factotum of Landseer's, who was showing off his pictures, and being asked by a friend, who said, "I suppose you are a great assistance to your master?" "Yes," he said, "I arrange the canvas, put out the brushes and the paints, and he has only, after all, to lay them on."

George Russell said Mrs. Singleton was very anxious to get Dizzy to meet Mallock at dinner, and, failing, begged him to write a few lines on his book the *New Republic*, as he might influence his political views.

Dizzy would not dine, and would not read the book, but after more persuasion from Mrs. Singleton sat down and wrote:

"So sorry I cannot dine with you, to meet Mr. Mallock; I am obliged to go to Hughenden, and I wish that I could people my solitude with the bright creatures so cleverly portrayed by your clever young friend."

George Russell said he imagined that Mr. Gladstone had named his literary executorship in his will. I know nothing of it, but we agreed that they ought to form a syndicate.

On January 28 poor Randolph Churchill was mercifully released from his sufferings.

<sup>1</sup> Of Sutherland.

Lord Rosebery asked me to persuade Lady Granville to try to get her son to be Lord-in-waiting. Whatever the fate of the Government might be he did not think they would go out before the autumn, but Loulou Harcourt thought they would be beaten on the Address. A. Ellis, the Whip, thinks not, but no opinion now is very valuable.

After visiting Woking Prison, where I was more struck than ever at the terrible sentences on young girls for infanticide, I went to Aston Clinton. Haldane of the party, who was most pessimistic about Lord Rosebery's want of go and sympathy. He said he wished to be a Pitt, but ended in being a Goderich.

On January 28 I attended poor Randolph Churchill's funeral in Westminster Abbey, and could not help thinking of the fulfilment of the prophecy, "Gladstone will outlive me, and what a beautiful letter he will write my wife, proposing my burial in Westminster Abbey!"

How bitterly sad the whole thing is! I felt all I said in my letter to his mother:

"It is not only because in my own great sorrow I feel a deep sympathy for those who also grieve that I venture to write to you at such a moment as this, but because I had an insight into Randolph's character which was shared by very few, and which I should like, if it would be any little comfort to you in your affliction, to tell you of. When he became Chancellor of the Exchequer he assumed that office with the strongest prejudice against him on the part of many of those permanent Civil Servants who, like myself, necessarily would be associated with him. When he resigned at the end of the year, I venture to say that he had changed those prejudices into feelings of admiration and respect. Putting aside his clever personal charm, we soon discovered that he possessed many of the qualities which had always won for Mr. Gladstone as a Departmental Chief so great a measure of regard and affection. He was naturally inexperienced in official business; but his indefatigable labour enabled him soon to overcome this deficiency. He shared with Mr. Gladstone the love of learning his subject from the

very beginning. He was patient and attentive to the opinions of his subordinates, while absolutely preserving his own independence of judgment and decision. He had the rare gift of keeping his mind exclusively bent on the subject under discussion at the time, and impressed all those with whom he had business relations with the idea that that business was all he cared for. And from constant experience I can say that no one ever ended an official interview with him without having arrived at a knowledge of his views, and in having gone far to arrive at definite conclusions on the question in hand. There is no harm in saying that, only a few days before his resignation in December, he had completed and passed through his Cabinet a Budget—which unfortunately was never to come to the birth—far larger and more comprehensive than any since Mr. Gladstone's Great Budget of 1860.

“In what I have written I know I have feebly expressed what many others thought. And for myself, I can only say individually, that differing as I did from him in much, my admiration and affection for him have lasted till now, when I have bitterly to regret the loss of a man whose abilities and talents I always hoped would have overcome all the obstacles before him, as readily as he by his kindness and charm overcame all the prejudices of the early days of my acquaintance, soon ripening into a friendship which only death has ended.

“A. E. W.”

Saw Lady Granville and persuaded her to advise Leveson to accept the Lordship-in-Waiting, and told Lord Rosebery of the success of my negotiation.

Early in February I went to the House of Lords to hear Welby move the Address, which he did very well—Lord Salisbury calling him the “Dodo,”<sup>1</sup> as the last Peer he supposed that would be created.

<sup>1</sup> It is rather a curious coincidence that in a certain circle of his intimates Lord Welby was known by the name of another quaint bird, the Puffin, which, in very gross caricature, really did a little suggest his facial angle.

About this time I paid my first, but I am happy to know it was not my last visit by any means, to Lady de Rothschild at Aston Clinton.

As George Russell says truly of her :

“ Endowed with gifts of character and intellect which made her society delightful, she had long surrounded herself with remarkable men, such as Disraeli, Wilberforce, Thackeray, Charles Villiers, Bernal Osborne, Robert Lowe, and Matthew Arnold, but among the guests she and her daughters, Lady Battersea and Mrs. Yorke, best loved to entertain were Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. She was an enthusiastic Liberal, a staunch Free Trader, and a strong advocate of temperance, but thoroughly tolerant to all. Her reading comprised all that was worth reading in English, French, and German, and her conversation was fresh and sparkling up to the last.”

There I constantly met Mr. Haldane and Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, and nobody could be so interested in their talk, political, philosophical, or literary, as our hostess. We very often walked over in the Sunday afternoons to Halton, Alfred Rothschild's, who was ever willing to show us his beautiful pictures and gorgeous surroundings. His kindness was not limited to personal friends, for I was told that in the cold bitterness of winter mornings he sent a cart round every morning with hot coffee and bread and butter to every labourer on his estate.

MARCH 26.—I met Mr. Gladstone at dinner at the Breadalbanes, in Harcourt House. He recollected dining there with Speaker Manners-Sutton, in the Crypt, which was his dining-room. Beresford Hope always called it a chapel, and Ayrton a vault.

Meeting Mr. Gladstone again at Herbert Gladstone's, where George Russell and Eddie Hamilton were, we discussed Lord Palmerston's speaking. I said I was present when he spoke on the Danish question<sup>1</sup> and tried to

<sup>1</sup> The Danish Question: This was, of course, when Germany was threatening Denmark in 1863. When the actual blow fell, Great Britain was as unwilling, as she was in any effective sense unable, to fulfil this promise which Lord Palmerston, so far as his position gave him the right, had made on her behalf. Denmark was, in fact, left absolutely alone.

explain his statement "She will not find herself alone." He spoke on this for ten minutes, and then fell back on all the performances of Mr. Gladstone, his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone recollected it well. Lord Palmerston was then opposing him on everything, and had told him that if he was beaten on his proposals for the Budget he should not consider it as a vote of no confidence.

Herschell looks upon Asquith as one of the few orators left. George Russell could not understand his not mentioning Plunket, nor could I.

Asquith said literary men, of whom there were three in the Cabinet, did not have great Parliamentary weight. I could only think of John Morley and George Trevelyan, and it could hardly have included John Morley, as he was present, and said nothing beyond a remark to the effect that breaking up among themselves would turn them out.

Our Prison Report, which had caused us great labour but was unanimous, was now concluded, and our chairman, Herbert Gladstone, did quite admirably in steering the report into harbour.

I heard Whitbread and Birrell propose Gully for Speaker, and Lady Frances Balfour talked of Arthur Balfour's blunder in attacking him. She also told us that she should not be surprised if in a month we should hear of Chamberlain's retirement into private life, and described Mr. Gladstone's having the power of setting a torch to public opinion which would soon blaze into flames.

#### PRIVATE

*April 30, 1895.*

MY DEAR WEST,—I want to ask a favour of you, and that is that you will allow me to mention your name as that of the honorary Commissioner under the Welsh Church Bill. As you know, it is a very barren and at the same time not an onerous distinction, as there is not the least chance of the Bill becoming law yet awhile. And of course I should not regard your acceptance now as

any pledge that you would repeat it under altered conditions.

Please consider this and say "yes."<sup>1</sup>

Yours ever, H. H. ASQUITH.

HOUSE OF LORDS, S.W., *June 14, 1895.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON WEST,—The Government have determined to advise the issue of a Royal Commission to consider the principles which ought to regulate the infliction of punishments with a view to securing greater equality in sentences, and specially what effect should be given to previous convictions: and to inquire in what way greater uniformity and efficiency can be secured in the administration of the Criminal Law.

Lord Cross has been good enough to consent to act as Chairman if the Commission is issued; and I venture to invoke your interest in this most difficult and important subject, and to ask you to allow your name also to be submitted to Her Majesty as a member of the Commission.

Yours very truly, HERSCHELL.

In June Sir Donald Currie kindly invited me to join Mr. Gladstone in a party about to undertake a cruise in one of his Union Castle Line, the *Tantallon Castle*. It was in June, and Mr. Gladstone was then released from the cares of office and was looking forward to a rest from his labours. There was a huge party on board, but the accommodation was ample. Lord Welby and I went down together to Tilbury and found many friends already on board—Mr. F. Leveson Gower, Armitstead, Henry and Mrs. Henry Gladstone, Lord Rendel. The Press was fully represented by H. W. Lucy and Moberly Bell, who both added largely to the pleasures of the party. Mrs. Harry Gladstone and Mrs. J. Pease; but conspicuous by her absence was our *ci-devant* companion on the *Pembroke Castle*, Miss Laura Tennant, now Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton. The object of our trip was the opening of the Kiel Canal

<sup>1</sup> To this request Sir Algernon acceded, as also to that embodied in the following letter from Lord Herschell,

by the Kaiser, but we stopped on our way at Hamburg, where we were magnificently entertained by the Burgo-meister at the Zoological Gardens, and here for the first time I came across the German plan of having the courses of the dinner interlarded by speeches, a very unpleasant way of eating your dinner. Having been so entertained, Sir Donald Currie gave a return banquet on board the *Tantallon*, when Mr. Gladstone, who had been unable to attend the Hamburgers' dinner, was present, and made a pretty speech. And now, to be honest, I think I must record a terrible fiasco which accompanied an attempt to see Bismarck. Some Hamburger had persuaded Sir Donald that he would like to see some of us at Friedrichsruh. I was with F. Leveson Gower, Lord Welby, Harry Gladstone, and one or two others who were the privileged persons who were to have that honour; so, much elated with our prospects, we started off, to the envy of our fellow-companions. Arrived at Friedrichsruh, after many *pourparlers* with our Hamburg friends, we were ushered into the kitchen of the porter's lodge and were told that the Prince was having his midday snooze, but would soon see us. For nearly two hours we sat waiting for what never came, and our impression was that the Prince had never even heard of our existence. And so we, very crestfallen, returned to our companions whom we had left on board, and tried, vainly, I fear, to make the best of our misfortunes.

While at Hamburg we were present at a christening. The officiating clergyman was dressed in a white gown and an Elizabethan ruff round his neck; and after baptizing the child he put his hands on the mother's head and blessed her.

From Hamburg we sailed to Copenhagen, passing Heligoland, which reminded me of poor Baron de Worms, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, glorifying during the passing of the estimates the importance of our possession of that important island, which Lord Salisbury had already made over to Germany. Passing Elsinore we arrived at the wharf of the capital of Denmark, where we had been in the *Pembroke Castle*, and where our Minister had welcomed me as being Tennyson.

The King and Queen of Denmark visited the ship the next day and stayed on board for some time. As we were smoking on deck Moberly Bell said to me, "Do give that poor devil [the Crown Prince] a fresh cigar." "Thank you," he said, "I have smoked enough," and then he added good-naturedly, "We are such a small country that we are obliged to learn the language of our larger neighbours."

We arrived in Kiel Harbour and were saluted by lightning and thunder, which all passed away in the following morning, which was gloriously bright and showed up the magnificent fleet of ships already assembled for the ceremony of opening the canal. It was no wonder that the Germans coveted such a landlocked harbour for their ships. The *Mirror*,<sup>1</sup> on which Sir John Pender was entertaining Lord Peel, Lord Wolseley, Mr. Bayard, the American Ambassador, and others, anchored alongside.

The next day came the great event. The *Hohenzollern*, with the Kaiser on board, sailed through the avenue of ships of all nations. The Kaiser stood alone on the high bridge in a white uniform, and a helmet with a golden eagle on his head. Now this seems theatrical, but it really was not; on the contrary, it was most impressive and a picture of the true magnificence of human power. The ships' bands played the German national hymn as he passed by, and the great scene was over, a scene not to be forgotten. And now our course was homeward. At Gothenburg we heard the news that the scrap division on the Cordite vote had taken place and Lord Rosebery's Government was defeated. "Now we shall have resignation and a dissolution," said Mrs. Pease. "You have a very nimble mind," said Mr. Gladstone, and she proved her nimbleness, for at Gravesend came the fulfilment of her prophecy, and Lord Rosebery, who, as Haldane said, wished to be as Pitt, ended by being a Goderich, and the Rosebery Government came to an end, having resigned on a snap division of which they took advantage. And so our cruise was at an end, and though very pleasant it

<sup>1</sup> The *Mirror* was Sir John Pender's yacht.



ill compared with Sir Donald Currie's hospitality on the *Pembroke Castle*.

Moberly Bell, with whom I had become more or less intimate during our cruise, kept me daily informed of all that was taking place during the formation of the new Government.

(The following two letters are from Mr. Moberly Bell:)

98 PORTLAND PLACE, W., June 20, 1895.

MY DEAR WEST,—Thanks for the relief from eight superfluous letters and for the friendliness thereof.

Of course I waited for a Privy Councillor to take the lead!

I wish I could accept your invitation, but I must not. Two weeks arrears and the close of a half-year were enough, and now a general election renders life hideous.

I thoroughly enjoyed the *T.C.*<sup>1</sup> trip, but like a too good dinner it brings retribution, and not joy in the morning.

Shall I send you *The Times*! Just at this time I feel compassionate towards readers of the *D. Chronicle*. Did you read in it yesterday that Mr. G. was so excited at the news that he cut short our trip—insisted on the engines of the *T.C.* being worked at extreme pressure and was in a state of wild, nervous excitement till he could get home and rush to Rosebery.

So we write history.

I wonder whether Chamberlain will show sufficient tact with the Colonies—if he can do that he may make a big Colonial Minister. His conversion to Imperialism dates from his visit to Egypt, and he has the fervour of a convert, but it was late in life and the previous narrowness may reassert itself.

The new post for Devonshire is ingenious and happy, as he may be expected to take an interest in the Hartington Commission, if in anything. The difficulty was to find anything sufficiently big for him to accept without loss of dignity—he suggested the F.O., but admitted that his

<sup>1</sup> *T.C.* = the cruise in the *Tantallon Castle*.

French (or want of it) was an obstacle. As Pres. of Council he has dignity, and the New Office makes it less nominal. Yours ever, C. M. B. [MOBERLY BELL].

P.S.—You will receive a notice of the next meeting of the “Organized Club.” Get your kodaks ready.

## PRIVATE

PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, *June 24, 1895.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—You may care to know the following, most of which is to be read between the lines of the first leader in this morning's papers.

Salisbury will not serve under Devonshire. Devonshire will only take Premiership or F.O., therefore must take latter. Goschen does not want the Exchequer—has been offered to Chamberlain, who doesn't seem to care for it. Neither does C. want War Office, alleging that connection of Birmingham with W.O. renders it inadvisable. Some doubt as to what the D— he does want. Balfour, of course, Leader of House and probably First Lord. They are jibbing at Courtney, but they will do well to offer him Board of Trade, as he will probably make innumerable conditions, which may save them.

Woolsack a great difficulty. Everybody wants to get Lord Halsbury except himself and Salisbury. Webster is willing to leave it to James provided he (W.) gets the Rolls, a peerage and is not considered out of the running as a future L.C.

The innocents to be massacred are Cross, Knutsford, Matthews, and Jackson Hamilton—the last wants a diplomatic career.

*Talk* of Londonderry as Viceroy for Ireland with seat in Cabinet, but more probably Zetland without. And Londonderry Privy Seal.

James is not sure if he wants Woolsack or Home.

Curzon, craving for India, is spoken of for Ireland as Secretary—not so very bad.

2/5ths of the Club drove off together in a cab. Hah! Hah! I had the last of the sweet-peas.

Yours ever, C. MOBERLY BELL.

AUGUST.—I saw Haldane, who was most talkative. Had been to see Oscar Wilde in Wandsworth Gaol, and had recommended his applying his mind to some work which he could produce when he left this country at the end of his term. Oscar Wilde made no secret of his guilt, saying the temptation of such a life was too great for him.

Haldane spoke most highly of Edward Grey, who, he said, was a born statesman. He had persuaded Rosebery to take the Premiership—nothing could exceed his praise of him. Discussed the political position at great length. He thought all looked well for Asquith, who would make money in his profession when out of office. He said he was acting as a go-between—betwixt the Irish and the Government. Talked much of our prison experience, and said Ridley would follow our report, and would, he thought, appoint our Sentences' Commission after the recess.

*From Sir Matthew White Ridley*

SECRETARY OF STATE HOME DEPARTMENT, *October 26, 1895.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—The commission projected by my predecessor, in conjunction with Lord Herschell, to enquire into the inequality of sentences and the best remedy for it will, I hope, now proceed; and I trust you will be good enough to give your services, which I understand you promised them. There were only two names to add, and I have got Mr. Justice Holmes and J. L. Wharton, Esq., M.P. Lord Cross still presides.

Yours truly, M. W. RIDLEY.

I was very anxious to get Mr. Watts, the great painter, to help the Liberal cause in the Guildford Division, but received in answer to my request the following letter:

LIMNERSLEASE, GUILDFORD, *December 22, 1895.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I know that the law of existence is movement, that movement means change. Therefore that nothing can be permanent simply because it has been even a beneficent fact under former conditions. I know also that the existing state of things is

perilous and impossible even in the near future, therefore I must be a sincere Liberal in my desire after a better state of things; but I do not know by what means the progress and improvement which I feel are imperatively demanded are to be effected, and cannot be a member of any party, especially as I do not feel that any party as a body is actuated by sense of the religions professed, of ethics, or stern duty.

Moreover, I have for the last forty years made strenuous endeavours to contribute to the advancement of a nobler set of conditions, and this large and continuous *subscription* leaves me close upon my 80th year with not enough to enable me to live on that actual labour, and often oppressed by anxiety about the means of meeting my requirements, modest as they are personally. So you see "a substantial cheque" is not within my power!

Very sincerely yours, G. F. WATTS.

(Evidently Sir Algernon did not take the "no" of Mr. Watts's letter of December 22 as final, for three weeks later we have the painter writing again, as below:)

LIMNERSLEASE, GUILDFORD, *January 14, 1896.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I am afraid I did *not* reply to your last letter; if I did not, please accept my apologies. In the first place, as I think I said, the name of anyone so out of the world and so obscure (certainly in all that has to do with public and social conditions and openings) as myself must be without any sort of value, and secondly I regard Party! as an edifice with *one* window, a kind of architecture I can have no hand in; I want to have the light of day all round.

Very sincerely yours, G. F. WATTS.

DECEMBER 21.—At the end of the year I paid a visit to Lady de Rothschild at Aston Clinton, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, Ruggles Brise, and Colonel Collins, and played golf at Tring Park, where emus and other strange animals roamed about.

Mundella's niece always called her aunt "Godmother,"

but reading in Shakespeare the more classical term "grand-dam" she said at dinner, "God-dam, will you give me some potatoes" !

There was an ice-pudding at Mrs. Crawshay's dinner, which was very good, and someone saying, "This must be your cook's *cheval de bataille*," "No," she said, "it is her *cheval de freeze*."

An American boy, whose home had been desolated by Red Indians, said: "Father's killed, twins killed, and mother was stuck so full of arrows she was quite ridiculous." With such frivolities we waste our time !

Next day we drove to Leopold Rothschild's at Ascott, a beautiful and glorified old manor house, on which I suppose tens of thousands had been spent, and lovely gardens.

On Christmas Day, curiously enough, we dined at Alfred Rothschild's huge palace, Halton, which, when lighted up and full of well-dressed people, appeared quite tolerable. There are lovely pictures, one of Lady Hamilton, and the famous one of her as "Circe." We dined at 9 o'clock, as Alfred Rothschild said it was the only way his servants, who supped at 7 or 8, could have a peaceful meal. Eight nationalities were represented at dinner, made up, I think, by Prince Dhuleep Singh, Indian; Baron Alphonse, French; the Brazilian and Belgian Ministers; Mrs. Sassoon, Austrian; M[ ] a German; M. de Soveral, Portuguese; and ourselves. After dinner we saw some wonderful billiard tricksters, one American and one English—Mr. Marnock, from whom Henry Asquith and I had once taken a short lesson.

The next day we played golf, very unsatisfactory in the snow.

Lady Battersea told me of a cousin of theirs—Mr. Montefiore—who when ill vowed that if he recovered he would follow literally all the rules of the Talmud, which he does to this day. She told me how extraordinarily the poor Jews observed the Sabbath: she was talking to a poor girl, whom she was anxious to reclaim from a bad life. "Well," she said, "I may be bad, but I have never poked the fire on the Sabbath!" Whereas the Roman

Catholics, she said, wanted something more human than God to pray to, the Jews deny the necessity of any intermediary between them and God.

Talking about Mr. Gladstone's strong views of Pitt's conduct in 1798—quoting the old revolutionary song, "Who fears to speak of '98?"—John Morley said, "I do, damnably, when Mr. Gladstone is present."

At the time of the Greek tragedy, when poor Vyner<sup>1</sup> was massacred, our Minister at Athens was described by a French diplomatist as a man who was capable of embroiling England in a naval war with Switzerland!

Dined with Alfred Milner at Brooks's, who told me, much to my surprise, that during his connection on the *Pall Mall Gazette* with John Morley, then editor, he was so antipathetic to him that he should not now care to dine alone *tête à tête* with him. He attributed all the defects and failures of Goschen to his blindness, which was charitable of him.

Talked of Egypt, which our honesty alone had saved. France really wished us to stay there, that she might have a good cause for grumbling with England.

Heard of poor Henry Calcraft's<sup>2</sup> death. It was only a short time ago when, seeing on the tape at Brooks's the announcement of some young man's death of typhoid fever, he had said: "Thank God, my dear Algy, we at our time of life are exempt from such an illness," and now he has died of it! Walking with him one day, we met Dr. Hooker: "There," said Calcraft, "is the most scientific botanist of his day, who is paid £800 a year, while you are getting £2,000—an excellent example of the superiority of common sense to any scientific attainment!"

Lord Reay was talking of a journey of his in Lord

<sup>1</sup> His end was as gallant as it was tragic, at the hands of brigands who had captured a British touring party, which included Lord and Lady Muncaster. Lots were thrown as to who should be hostage while one went to inform the Government and to obtain ransom. The lot fell on Lord Muncaster, but the other, the unmarried and younger man, insisted on taking the place assigned by lot to him, and when the Government sent troops against the brigands the brigands killed their hostage.

<sup>2</sup> He was a lifelong friend of Sir Algernon's and a favourite in the Society of the time.

Bath's yacht to Constantinople, and incidentally told us that Lord Stratford de Redcliff, when Ambassador there, had gone officially in uniform to the Sultan, who had agreed to submit to the ultimatum of the Powers, which would have prevented the Crimean War. Shortly afterwards he returned to the palace in plain clothes and said : " I am not now an Ambassador, but only a private gentleman, and I recommend you not to accept the ultimatum," the Crimean War being the result. For this he gave the authority of Canon McColl, which I do not value very highly.

## CHAPTER XXI

1896

### THE NEW LEADER

EARLY in 1896 I paid a visit to Canford,<sup>1</sup> and when there heard the news of the Jameson Raid. On the Saturday before leaving, Wimborne received a letter from his son, out in S. Africa, telling him that he had been offered a captaincy in an expedition which was winked at by Rhodes, and subsidized by Beit.

While at Canford I drove over to Bournemouth to pay a visit to the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, and talked a great deal of Randolph, of whom she begged me to write something. She told me of some quarrel between him and Lord Salisbury on a question connected with the Battenberg family, and that Lord Salisbury never forgave. Henry Wolff had been a bad friend to Randolph.

She thought Hartington would be the successor to Lord Salisbury.

Peel was absurdly suspicious in 1837.

Lord Aberdeen less suspicious than any public man he ever knew.

The Queen once told Mr. Gladstone that she had never liked Peel !

Lord Derby offered Mr. Gladstone office in 1852, saying he reserved to himself the right to propose a fixed duty on corn. This, Mr. Gladstone thinks, was suggested to him by Dizzy, to cause him to refuse.

(This and several following letters refer to a short appreciation of Lord Randolph Churchill which Sir Algernon wrote on the suggestion of the foregoing conversation.)

<sup>1</sup> Lord Wimborne's place in Dorsetshire.



B. DENE, BOURNEMOUTH, *January 4, 1896.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON WEST,—I have thought a great deal over our conversation, and the more I think of it the more I like the idea of a sketch of my dear Randolph as you propose. The more kind I think it of you to think of writing it. Cornelia tells me you read her part of what you have written, and she seemed delighted with it. I hope you will see Curzon, to whom I have written about it. He and Georgie will be at Lowther this week to meet the Prince, but they will be in or near London afterwards. *Every* one is so soon forgotten now, even men so great as Mr. Gladstone, and I like to think that what you write will recall my beloved son to the remembrance of so many.

I had a letter yesy. from my child Sarah<sup>1</sup> the 16th of Decr. just after her landing at Capetown; she described the state of ferment existing in the Transvaal and the bad feeling of the Boers, and said she and Mr. Beit and others had been talking over what Randolph had written in his 1891 letters to the *Graphic*, for which he was so abused as likely to check enterprise and speculation and prosperity in Africa, and they all noticed how wise and quite prophetic had been his remarks. If you happen to have his book at hand you might like to read his words. Hoping to see you soon.

Yrs. sinly., F. MARLBOROUGH.

BRANKSOME DENE, BOURNEMOUTH, *January 26, 1896.*

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—Many thanks for yours. I am too glad to send you the letter I recd. from Mr. Gladstone on my dearest Randolph's death, and one he wrote me before. But the *most* touching testimony written to me about him was from Lord Rosebery. I cannot help thinking it may interest you. I also send you Lord Salisbury's, and you will observe he is obliged to do him justice, and his conscience may have smitten him. Will you also read the letter from the Bishop of Derry. I have *many* others, but these and *your own* letters at the time touched me to the heart the *most*.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Sarah Wilson.

Last Friday was the sad anniversary of my dear one's death. My only comfort was the peace and solitude of this lovely place. Alas, my stay draws to a close; I am going for a few days to Canford while the servants move, and shall be in London some time next week. Will you come and see me then and return me the enclosed, which *nobody* has seen but you and one or two of my children. I should love to have a little talk with you about the "Sketch" or Memories you are going to publish. With real gratitude for your appreciation of him,

Believe me, yrs. most sinly., F. MARLBOROUGH.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph Churchill had personal and other difficulties after his resignation and but for me would have given up politics, I think. To help him and cheer him and live for him was the aim and object of my life the last years, and now I am *desolate* indeed. Your testimony to his abilities while at the Exchequer is very valuable to me. He never felt it his *métier*, and often said he preferred the India Office. But when he undertook anything he tried to do it thoroughly and master it.

He had a true and warm friendship for you, and he often spoke of your sorrows with deep sympathy and regret. Will say no more; I have written from the fullness of my sad heart. If I have been indiscreet, pray burn my letter and believe me,

Yours sincerely and gratefully, F. MARLBOROUGH.

356 GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, W., March 13.

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I read with very great attention the copy of your article on my father's life. It is particularly interesting because it shows, as you told me, the impression he produced upon the permanent officials of the Treasury and the India Office. I do not think its value as a record will be in any way lessened by the spirit of affection in which it is plainly written. There is not one word or one sentence I should wish to add or take away.

<sup>1</sup> Only the latter end of this letter is given.

I am very sorry that I could not give you any information myself, but, as I tell you, my memories are slender and few. My mother and I feel very grateful to you for writing what you have written.

I am going through a long and tedious course of signalling at Aldershot now, which interests me very little. Hoping you are well.

Yours very sincerely, WINSTON CHURCHILL.

P.S.—My mother is here—ill and would be delighted if you would call and see her.

BANGALORE, *October 25, 1896.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I received by the mail to-day a copy of the *Nineteenth Century* which contains your article, and passed a delightful morning reading it. The alterations in the arrangement which you made since I had the opportunity of reading the type-written proof have added improvements where I had thought none were possible. As it now stands the article is the most valuable tribute which his memory has received, and I shall be grateful to you all my life for having been the author. To those who were his friends it must vividly recall old days and associations, while those for whom the subject has no special interest cannot fail to find your article pleasant reading. All the news that I get out here is at least three weeks behind the times. The Indian papers are the most despicable and worthless productions that can be imagined. Not even Reuter's telegrams are inserted, except in an abbreviated and mutilated form, and besides the advertisements gushing accounts of the Viceroy's tour are the only matter. When the mail does come in, there is such a plethora of news that one is tempted to rush through a week's *Times* in a single morning, or at any rate to read the last one first. The consequence is that it is extremely difficult to keep *au fait*.

It appears to me, however, that you are having anything but monotonous times in Europe, what with Mr. Gladstone's speech and Lord Rosebery's resignation, and the Czar's visit. But all this will be ancient history to you by the time this letter reaches England. Perhaps

we may be at war with Turkey, or perchance the Armenian question will have been finally settled by the exhaustion of its principal factor, the Armenians. It is a bad thing to prophesy, however. Our course seems to me quite clear. We cannot continue to allow horrible outrages to be perpetrated under our very noses. We cannot interfere ourselves, and therefore the only course open is to allow some one else to put a stop to an impossible state of things. And, after all, what country has a better right to Constantinople than Russia? The possession of an unfrozen port is the legitimate aspiration of a great people. Few nations, indeed, are so moderate. Turkey has got to go sooner or later, and it is much better that we should avail ourselves of an excellent excuse for evacuating an untenable position than wait to be ignominiously expelled therefrom.

So the Egyptian expedition has terminated successfully, and the revenues of the fertile province of Dongola will soon put the revenue on its legs again. Your Party's gloomy anticipations were, after all, incorrect. I daresay you have seen the way in which we are continually attacked in *Truth*. Mr. Labouchere now insinuates that it was my influence, forsooth, that prevented the W.O. from acting. Could anything be so absurd? He has been wrong all through this business, and were he conversant with the actual facts, no one would be more sorry than he for the line he has taken. Of course, we are not allowed to say a word, or he would have got plenty of information and evidence. However, it sells his paper. I myself am now a regular subscriber.

Once more thanking you for writing the article.

I remain, yours very sincerely, WINSTON CHURCHILL.

From Canford I went to Mentmore, where I found the Asquiths, Battersea, Mundella, Edward Hamilton, and Sir Edward Russell, the editor of the *Liverpool Gazette*, who was full of interesting gossip. On the Sunday, Lord Rosebery showed us many of his pictures, furniture, etc., connected with Marie Antoinette and the French

Revolution, which were in such quantities as to suggest a department in some museum.

Lord Rosebery was cynical about poor Mundella. Mundella was snubbed by John Morley, who said to him, as he was holding forth to the assembled company: "If you did not always imagine yourself addressing your constituents in Paradise Square, how much better it would be for all of us!"

But he was a real good fellow, who had by his industry and intelligence worked himself into what he was. He told us one day that when a boy in a parish school he had joined a shouting reform procession, for which the parson dismissed him, and on his mother interceding for his forgiveness the parson had taken him back on the condition that he was to pay double fees!

A Conservative had written to Lord Rosebery to tell him that he could be a Conservative no longer, had taken his name off the Carlton, and become a Liberal-Unionist. Lord Rosebery said he was sorry for him, as he would soon be a Conservative again without his "Carlton."

On the last day of the month I dined with Lady Randolph Churchill, and met her boy Winston, exactly like his father, and I am rather pleased to find that I put in my diary: "He will make his mark some day, for certain."

Dined one night at Moberly Bell's, and met, besides Wolseley and the Speaker, numerous *Times* correspondents. One of the writers had just returned from Madagascar, and gave me detailed accounts of the horrible sufferings of the French troops there.

Rowton told me that Mr. Disraeli had said that in 1851 he had written down the names of all the men who he thought would stand in his way. Looking at the paper in 1866, he found the only one who remained was Gladstone!

On March 5 I left London for Cannes, where I was going to pay a visit to Lord Rendel at the Château de Thorenc. In Paris I breakfasted with Miss Sands<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> A daughter of the Mrs. Sands already mentioned. Mrs. Sands was a lady of great beauty, well known in London society and much in the Rothschilds' set.

her fellow-students, and went with her to an exhibition, then to her studio near the Luxembourg, and on to M. Currier, her master—his painting a curious misty style.

Mr. Gladstone, who was at Lord Rendel's, wonderfully well and full of Manning's *Life*—praise of Purcell: Manning's ambitions and the way he got rid of Errington, who had already been chosen for the Archbishop of Westminster. I asked him why Odo Russell had advocated Papal infallibility. He did not know and was sure it was not by Clarendon's desire, for he was far too loyal and true not to have shown him the instructions if they existed—which, of course, they did not. Asked me to try to get from the present Lord Clarendon any letters of that time.

Of course he was full of Naval Estimates. Goschen, who was content in his time with 10 millions, now going for 22 millions.

Bethlehem<sup>1</sup> ought to be enlarged, etc., as some one said, "We are all mad and should be locked up, but who was to keep the key?"

Decadence of English statesmen.

Mr. Gladstone expressed his high opinion of Graham, the greatest administrator, but the least of statesmen, as he was called; he was rash and timid, but the best of friends.

Read to Mr. Gladstone, Godley's and Welby's letters on Randolph Churchill, as well as his own, to the publication of which he did not object.

Again he talked of Manning and his bad conduct to Bishop Hamilton. He lost nothing in the way of Church preferment, for no one would have dared promote him at that time.

Graham invented the phrase "Will want to know the reason why."

Had seen M. Faure, and thought he compared well with many kings.

I received an appreciative letter<sup>2</sup> from Winston Churchill,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Algernon gives it its name of ceremony, under which some may fail to recognize our familiar friend "Bedlam."

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante*. Apparently the date of this entry is March 18, but it is not clear.

referring to an article I had written on his father, from an official point of view; and another from Lord Rosebery, a severe critic, which pleased me.

Shortly afterwards I paid the latter a visit at the Durdans, where, after dinner, we discussed what statesmen would live in history, and on what their names and fate would depend:

Walpole, of course, as the great preserver of peace, and the supporter of the Hanoverian Dynasty.

Pitt?

Peel as a Free-Trader.

Gladstone as a financier, but more as the demagogue with absolute powers of inspiring aversion, hate, love, and enthusiasm.

The next morning we walked round the Derby course. Lord Rosebery recommended my writing my first volume of *Recollections*, the difficulty being to steer between indiscretion and dulness.

Then we discussed Palmerston, his powers and opportunities, and the use he made of Gladstone, and his bad conduct to him. He thought the men Mr. Gladstone most disliked were Palmerston and Disraeli. His strange contradictions, his loves and his hates. Had he a heart at all in the dark moments when he had to dispossess Granville of the Foreign Secretaryship; and how clumsily it was done! This I admitted, but I knew how he felt it, and how he authorized me to offer him the Premier-ship.

How unfortunate was his preferring Harcourt to Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer, as I had suggested.

Then we discussed the chance of Home Rule, which was not dead, but would require bad times or a revolution to resuscitate.

Lord Rosebery told me how he and Mr. Gladstone preferred my scheme of reform of the Death Duties to Harcourt's.

Melbourne had never had justice done to him.

Lord Rosebery continued most agreeable in anecdote and talk till late at night.

At the time of the Danish War, Russell and Palmerston

were in favour of interference, but France refused to join.

Talking of Viceroys of India being selected from the Cabinet, he mentioned Auckland, Ellenborough, and Ripon. I added, Canning, which he doubted, but I proved I was right.

On April 20 I dined with my old friend George Byng, now Lord Strafford, and effected a reconciliation between him and Lord Rosebery, between whom there had been an estrangement.

At the end of the month I paid a most pleasant visit to Waddesdon<sup>1</sup>: apart from the wonders of the house and gardens, I met Lords Peel and Crewe, and all the high officials of the British Museum, who were most agreeable and full of varied information. I was shown a glass cup with a jewelled Persian base, for which Ferdy Rothschild had given £1,650. It had been the property of a lady from the West Country, who brought it to Franks of the British Museum, who had promised her £30 for it, but said: "There are always enthusiasts who buy these things, so I advise your putting it into a sale of Christie's with that reserve." Which she did, and it is easy to conceive her delight and astonishment at seeing it run up to £1,650. It is now by Ferdy Rothschild's will bequeathed to the British Museum, where I have since seen it.

Monty Corry told us his experiences of the Moscow coronation,<sup>2</sup> and the awful catastrophe there, which he saw.

Lord Palmerston had a liaison with a certain lady and gave the husband a place. Mr. Spofforth told Disraeli that he could prove it, and ruin Palmerston. Disraeli said if they made any use of it he would give up his Leadership, and on Monty Corry's coming in said: "My dear Monty, if it became known that Palmerston had a liaison at 80 the English people would make him Dictator."

Lady Randolph Churchill very pleased with the article on her husband.

<sup>1</sup> Waddesdon Manor, Bucks, belonging to Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild.

<sup>2</sup> Of Nicholas II. Two thousand people are said to have been crushed and trampled to death, owing to defective police control.



MAY 23.—Whitsuntide. Started with Lady Battersea and Alec Yorke by 2.45 train to Southampton, whence we drove to Mrs. Yorke's house, Hamble Cliff, and embarked on board her yacht the *Garland*, where I had a splendid double cabin.

MAY 24.—On Sunday we landed and went to church, and in afternoon drove to Alec Yorke's cottage, which is let to Colonel Antrobus.

MAY 25.—Monday, Mrs. Yorke had a meeting, and Lady Battersea and I drove through the forest to Malwood—very lovely. E. Ashley, Goschen, and Lathoms came, and in evening we left A. Yorke, and took in a son of J. Yorke's and started. Got outside the Nab peacefully, and then a terrible rough passage all night to Havre, where we arrived at 7 a.m. on 26th. Stayed there all day—had luncheon at Frascati's, and in afternoon to a lovely old Château d'Orghet, a real French château as it might have been before the Revolution, with lovely woods and avenues; and on to another château not so beautiful.

MAY 27.—Steamed up the Seine in a heavy wind to Rouen, where we saw and admired the beautiful churches. Rouen all day. Dined at the Exhibition—very cold and bright.

Outside St. Ouen in the stonework is a figure of Herodias' daughter standing on her head—to show, it is said, her utter degradation.

MAY 29.—All about Rouen, and at 12 to Caudebec—a dear little old-world place, and a lovely Norman church. A beautiful still evening and night.

MAY 30.—On shore to a market, and at 9 down the river. We had a bore wave at night, and again to-day. Mrs. Yorke a most charming hostess, so bright and simple and kind.

A rough but sunny run to Cherbourg, which we reached about 9.30.

MAY 31.—Sunday, Cherbourg—to Cathedral service and then on yacht. Starting for Isle of Wight at 2 a.m. A good passage; anchored, and had a drive at Freshwater, and a lovely sail to Netley, which we reached at 5, after a most delightful trip.

JULY 18.—At Southill—the Hayters. I met Lord and Lady Cork, Lady Battersea, and Philip Currie.

Lady Cork said the first thing the Queen said, when her Queenship was announced, was: "Are my orders to be obeyed?" and the Archbishop of Canterbury said: "Yes." Then she said: "I want to have a separate bedroom for my mother."

Lady F. Hastings'<sup>1</sup> story arose much from her secret intimacies, on the Duchess of Kent's behalf, with Sir John Conroy, to whom Queen Victoria never spoke, though she met him once.

Lady Cork told us of an epitaph on R. Lowe:

Here lie the bones of Robert Lowe,  
A faithful friend, a bitter foe.  
Whither the restless spirit's flown  
Cannot be thought of, much less known.  
If to the realm of light and love,  
Concord no longer reigns above;  
If it has found a lower level,  
The Lord have mercy on the Devil.

Talked of Rosslyn's lines on C. Greville:

"For fifty years he listened at the door,  
He heard some secrets and invented more;  
These he wrote down," etc.

Philip Currie said that he was not going to Paris. There was a rumour that Lord Peel was going.

JULY 22.—Saw Mr. Gladstone, who said the division on the Irish Bill against the Government was all wrong, but Ellis gloried in it. I said, "You must always make excuses for a Whip." "Ah! you think so, because you only recollect modern things; but it would not have been so in the early days of Peel." Then he fell back on "mad or drunk" expenditure. Looked very vigorous and well, and Mrs. Gladstone better than I had expected.

OCTOBER 9.—Left Minto<sup>2</sup> with great regret, where I had been paying a visit. Lady Granby and Mrs. E.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Flora Hastings had been dismissed from her place at Court on charges which were proved to be entirely false. Sir John Conroy was in waiting on the Duchess of Kent.

<sup>2</sup> Minto House is the name of the Earl of Minto's house near Hawick. The Countess of Minto was a daughter of General the Hon. Charles Grey.

Bourke there. The Mintos are charming hosts, and their children very pretty.

Reached Edinburgh at 5, and found Eddy and Mrs. E. Tennant dressing for our tea at 6. The Asquiths arrived, and I had only time for two minutes' conversation with Henry before tea. He had, it appears, been to Dalmeny, but too late as Rosebery's letter announcing his intention to resign the Leadership had already been sent to the papers. We had a gloomy, melancholy, and useless talk with Asquith. He entirely disapproved of Rosebery's step at such a moment—he had burned his boats, and he always disapproved of burning boats.

The conversation between Rosebery and him had been getting rather serious, but was relieved by a little bit of humour, for Rosebery said there were only two things which made him think he had made a false step, and they were two telegrams, one from Wemyss<sup>1</sup> saying, "Well done, Archie!" and the other from Sir Charles Tennant heartily congratulating him!

We then had a hurried tea at the "Balmoral"—a horrid hotel—and to the Empire Theatre, where we men had seats on the platform and the women in boxes.

Carrington, Chesterfield, A. Morley, Bryce, H. Fowler, Welby, Monkswell, Haldane, Ribblesdale, Crewe, Overton, and others; at 7 to the moment Rosebery arrived, ashy pale, and with that unseeing look I know so well. After a few words from Carmichael, the chairman, Rosebery began his speech, in a voice hardly above a whisper, but the place was very easy to speak in, and I think his voice reached everybody. A Scottish audience appears to me to be different from one in England, where cheers would interrupt a popular speaker at the close of every passage, whereas in Scotland the audience seemed wrapped in listening attention to the close of a period, when one or two minutes are allowed for loud and continual cheering. Rosebery had a really magnificent reception, almost,

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Wemyss. Nearly twenty years later Lord Rosebery raised a laugh in the House of Lords by speaking of him, then a nonagenarian extraordinarily active both in mind and body, as "my young friend Lord Wemyss."

if not quite, as great as Mr. Gladstone used to receive in his last Midlothian campaign. His bits of pathos were very fine; the image of the spirits that appeared above the Edinburgh Cross warning them of the horrors of Flodden Field was very good, though it was rather a copy of Bright's speech at the time of the Crimean War, who, referring to the Angel of Death being abroad over the land, said, "You may almost hear the beating of his wings."

His references to Mr. Gladstone were really touching, though I think for his own purposes he a little exaggerated Mr. Gladstone's position now. His "good-bye" was excellent, and the point of his having no constituents, and then turning to them and saying, they, the people of Edinburgh, were his constituents, was very effective, and produced a tremendous answer from the whole theatre. He kept his audience at his feet for one hour and fifty minutes—a great achievement. He is a very fine speaker, and each speech I hear is an improvement on his last. His action, too, was better than that pump-handle action which I was afraid he had got into.

Then came a disappointing speech from Birrell. True, he had prepared another resolution and another speech, but he had twenty-four hours to alter it, and I should have expected him to be much more nimble-minded—it was distinctly a failure.

As we were crowding out of the theatre, Rosebery said to me: "You understand now why I refused to speak at Guildford!"

I drove with him of the Waverley Station, and then to Dalmeny, where we found dinner ready for us. Lady Leconfield and Miss Wyndham there, and when they had gone Rosebery, who seemed in the best of spirits, and not very tired, turned the conversation into a general discussion of literature: Macaulay, Carlyle, Gibbon, and poetry in general. He said that Macaulay, though he had been largely spoiled by his imitators (in which I don't agree), far outweighed Carlyle, who sat on a throne and damned everybody. I am not sure what he said when he met Gladstone and Newman, but I think it was, "that

one was descended from an ape, and the other had the brains of a rabbit." Haldane said that Carlyle admired Goethe, at any rate. They discussed his *Sartor Resartus* and *Frederick the Great*. Bryce said, if he were doomed to a desert island, he would choose Carlyle rather than Macaulay, which astonished Rosebery.

Then Gibbon's Chapter XV,<sup>1</sup> of which I know nothing, was held up as very fine.

Rosebery said he thought few people comparatively read poetry, and put the question round the table. Bryce, Ribblesdale, C. Tennant, and I, all said we read poetry; Lord Overton, who appeared a dull sort of philanthropist, also said he read poetry. "Wordsworth?" said Rosebery. "No, not Wordsworth." Ribblesdale said it was a mercy Rosebery did not pursue the question. Soon after this, Haldane and I escaped to the smoking-room, and thoroughly discussed the situation. He had been summoned to Dalmeny the Saturday before, but though he was sensible of vague mutterings and gloom, and something going wrong, he did not know how serious it was, though he walked up and down to Barnbogle in the wet gravel in his evening pumps for ages; but he warned Bryce of something being in the air. We then came to the conclusion that Rosebery had no intention of withdrawing permanently from the Leadership, but it was a *coup de théâtre*, a *recueillement pour mieux sauter*, and that in this way he had played a bold game. His capture of Asquith was very clever, and forced his hand—by the audience insisting on his speaking, and thoroughly, as in all he does, committing himself to Rosebery. But all this for the moment is bad for Asquith—exposing all the sordid quarrels of the party, and making Asquith a party man in the party. Rosebery has got Scotland at the moment in the hollow of his hand, and if Russia and England agree, which Rosebery may think probable, as he has had Stael staying with him, he will get all the credit.

I am afraid of being a little blinded by the surroundings

<sup>1</sup> This is the chapter in the *Decline and Fall* headed: "The Progress of the Christian Religion, and the Sentiments, Manners, Numbers, and Conditions of the Primitive Christians."

and the glamour of them, and afraid of unduly estimating Harcourt's great power and cleverness.

Haldane does not think Chamberlain will ever lead the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. I do not feel so sure. He thinks it must end in Rosebery, Premier and Foreign Secretary, and Asquith, House of Commons Leader. I said I thought Asquith's position worse than it was a week ago, to which he agreed.

I was amused at Sir C. Tennant's coming in, who has been a real Tory since the Death Duties—saying to me: "I am so happy, as, thank God, I have now a Leader—you don't know how nearly I was leaving you."

This smoking-room (Dalmeny) brings back to me all the sad associations of the Midlothian Election Campaign of 1892, when Rosebery was in such an unsettled state. He is a wonderful man, who I have often thought could never be a leader, because nobody knows him really: but, then, nobody ever knew that wonderful leader, Parnell! And who ever really knew Dizzy?

We heard Massingham<sup>1</sup> was with Harcourt at Malwood. Norman, one of the two co-editors of the *Daily Chronicle*, was on the platform here.

H. Fowler strong for Rosebery, who, he thinks, will be the inevitable Leader, and thinks the party will be strengthened by Rosebery's coup; but, as I told Rosebery, I should like to see Fowler when he next meets Harcourt! Talked till nearly 2 o'clock.

OCTOBER 10.—Rosebery in great spirits at breakfast. It appears that Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the Cyprus Convention was the last straw that broke his back. Everybody was very indignant with Malcolm McColl, which was pleasant hearing to me. Ribblesdale was very good chaffing the Duchess of Hamilton,<sup>2</sup> who had arrived, about Abercorn and the Irish Land Bill.

I told Rosebery that I was going away, which he regretted, and then took me aside and began praising my

<sup>1</sup> Massingham was editor of *Daily Chronicle*. Norman was assistant editor.

<sup>2</sup> I suspect that Duchess of "Hamilton" is here a slip of the pen for Duchess of Abercorn. Hamilton is the name of the Dukes of Abercorn as of Hamilton, and their genealogical trees mingle their branches.

article on Randolph Churchill, whom he said he loved as a brother, and he was much pleased with the article, which went to the eulogistic verge but did not go over it. Haldane also is very complimentary. Talking of his speech, I said I was sure he would not think I wished to flatter him, but that I thought honestly it was, after some of Mr. Gladstone's, the finest I had heard, but I could not understand why he should not have made it word for word and yet not resigned. Of course, he did not agree. I then said I thought he exaggerated the effects and position of Mr. Gladstone, who was now 86, and retired from party and public life, and also that he did not sufficiently consider the difference of age between him and Harcourt, and that I thought he might have delayed this step, but he said he would not wait for any dead man's shoes. I told him also that I wished he had not put so much force into the difficulties of a Peer Prime Minister; but he thought his exception would cover the ground, that is, his special advantages instead of special disadvantages.

We agreed in abusing McColl, and he said I had much better go to Hawarden and hear what was thought.

Mrs. Asquith and Edward Tennant arrived. I had a hurried talk with H. Asquith, and I think he agrees fully with what I have written down here, and regrets the unravelling of squalid quarrels.

OCTOBER 18.—A long talk with H. Asquith on Rosebery's action. The saddest part of all was that nobody had written to or heard from J. Morley, who had quarrelled with Rosebery, because he had not made him Foreign Secretary; Rosebery offered him India, but he refused it (Asquith offered to take it), and then was angry because he had not taken it.

Lady Wolverton<sup>1</sup> at dinner said: "Who is John Morley? is he in Parliament? On which side is he?"

<sup>1</sup> Lady Wolverton, a daughter of the 1st Earl of Dudley.

## CHAPTER XXII

1897

### LAST NOTES

JANUARY 1897.—In January 1897 I met at Neville Lyttelton's a rather original lady, who said to her husband: "To think that I, who was born to be a great statesman's mistress, should have ended by becoming the wife of an obscure literary man!" But she did not end so, for in a few years she eloped, but not with a great statesman, and was divorced by the obscure literary man.

JANUARY 27.—I dined at Harry Gladstone's, to meet his father: there were also Dr. Ginsburg, John Morley, Lords Rendel and Welby. At first the conversation was between Mr. Gladstone and John Morley, on Lord Salisbury's policy, of which we only caught fragments. Later on Mr. Gladstone said he had been an observer for many years of Disraeli, and challenged anyone to refer to any occasion on which he had spoken of Liberty. He talked of the extension of the franchise as an extension of privilege. He was a supporter of Turkey, and in favour of the maintenance of the Pope.

Dr. Ginsburg said his love of Turkey sprang from the fact of Turkey's always behaving better to the Jews than other nations.

Mr. Gladstone said he recollected G. Canning's election at Liverpool in 1812, when as a child of three he was put on the table and made to say, "Ladies and gentlemen."

He recollected the guns fired in 1814 at Edinburgh in connection with peace rejoicings, but did not remember the first time he went to the House of Commons. Nor when he began first to look on Dizzy as a personage.

He heard a Reform speech in the House of Commons of Canning's, and met Dizzy at dinner in 1835.



He did not know Lord Melbourne.

Dizzy in 1852 offered to serve under Graham: would never have been so big a man had Lord George Bentinck lived.

At a huge party at Mr. Astor's in Carlton Gardens Harry Paulton told us George Curzon's saying of Henry Chaplin: "Poor fellow! he cannot learn the difference between 'oration' and 'peroration'"; and George Russell told me how George Lefevre had asked him if he had lost many dinners during the Home Rule split, for he had found a class of Unionists who were ready enough to dine with him, but did not ask him in return, which was not playing the game.

Mr. Gladstone thought Edward Grey a man of wonderful parliamentary instinct and power. He had tried to persuade John Morley not to return to political life, for which he was not naturally fitted. Asquith, he thought, was a good adviser on a legal question, but where was there the man who had the courage of his opinions?

Mr. Gladstone once asked Tennyson if he thought Carlyle a poet. "Yes," he said, "to whom Providence has not given the gift of verse."

John Morley thought he had seen some good verses of his.

Welby told us that Disraeli had said to Charles Beresford: "God defend us from experts!"

Mr. Gladstone did not think him wholly wrong, and brought up the case of Alderney Harbour, which would close the Port of Cherbourg, according to experts; and now after the expenditure of millions, the only result was the closing of Alderney.

John Morley chuckled at Welby and me as being experts. I asked Mr. Gladstone if his distrust of experts extended to the Treasury and Inland Revenue, which he indignantly repudiated.

He was in excellent spirits, recalling old Eton days—Dr. Keate, five feet high; the boeing process; and how the proudest day of his life was when he as a lower boy, with a seat in the gallery of some church, saw beneath him Keate ineffectually struggling for a seat!

FEBRUARY.—In February Henry Grenfell told me that in 1870 he met Frederick Cadogan at Lady Waldegrave's, Strawberry Hill, who told him with some confidence that there would be war between France and Prussia within six weeks time—which really occurred.

Only in 1896 did Henry Grenfell discover how Frederick Cadogan got his information :

Lord Clarendon had gone over to Paris, incognito as he thought, but he was met by an A.D.C. of the Emperor's, who told him that his arrival in Paris was known by the Emperor, who wished him to come to dinner at the Tuileries, which, of course, though much against his will, he was obliged to do.

It was a small party, consisting of our Ambassador, Lord Cowley, and Augustus Paget.

After dinner the Prince Imperial was made to put on a kilt and dance a reel.

Before leaving, the Empress drew Lord Clarendon aside in a window, and said : “ Before six weeks are over, there will be war, and it will be a righteous war ! ”

On March 27 I attended a dinner we gave to Alfred Milner, who had just been appointed Governor-General of Cape Colony, and the speeches of Asquith, J. Chamberlain, and Milner himself were all of a high order ; and on the 10th a further dinner was given to Milner by the Inland Revenue Department, where I had to make a speech, not worth recording.

I spent my Easter at Hartham, a charming place in Wilts, belonging to Sir John Dickson Poynder, who has unfortunately entered into Parliament as a Tory, though really a Liberal in all his views and instincts.

Frank Rhodes was there, and told us that he attributed all the misfortunes of South Africa to the disastrous Jameson Raid ; all would have been settled but for that.

I used at this time to be an occasional contributor to the *Nineteenth Century*, and the editor, Mr. James Knowles, told me that in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's attitude on Home Rule, Alfred Tennyson, whom he had made a Peer, had refused to meet him, and wanted to dine in his own room when staying in Queen's Gardens with Knowles.

Knowles, however, persuaded him to come down, and Mr. Gladstone discussed Home Rule with Lord Tennyson, and for the time convinced him. He told Knowles he regretted all the hard things he had said of Mr. Gladstone, and the next morning, when Knowles asked him if he remained of the same mind: "Yes," he said, "that is the worst of it."

I paid about this time a visit to Lord Rosbery at the "Durdans," a delicious old place on the confines of Epsom Racecourse, which he said, walking over it, was a paradise except during the race meetings, when it was a perfect hell upon earth. As we walked home through the shrubbery we came upon a hedgehog, and he told me that before he won the Derby in 1894 he had seen a hedgehog caught, I think, in a lawn-tennis net. The following year he was staying the night before the Derby at Harry Chaplin's in Park Lane; he looked out of a window and again saw a hedgehog in the little garden, of all places in the world, and both years he had won the Derby with "Ladas" and "Sir Visto."

There was a Beerbohm Tree play, called *The Seats of the Mighty*, which was a failure, and when acted in America was called *The Seats of the Mighty Few*.

When staying with Sir Wyndham Portal,<sup>1</sup> the Chairman of the London and South-Western Railway, I was taken to Southampton to see four huge liners in a row by the landing, and went all over the *St. Louis*. It was very interesting to see them start one by one with clock-work punctuality.

Dining at Brooks's with Asquith, E. Hamilton, and Haldane, the two latter prophesied that the Duke of Devonshire would succeed Lord Salisbury.

I heard of an American lady writing to an English friend saying, on her visit to this country, she would like to see everything musical and would like to go to the European Concert—if it was a place she could take her daughter to!

On the 5th of June, at the height of its glory, I went to Ferdinand Rothschild at Waddesdon, and on Sunday to Miss

<sup>1</sup> At Laverstoke in Hampshire.

Alice Rothschild's fairy garden at Eythrop, both lovely; the only possible criticism that could be made would be that they were too perfect—if that is possible.

My Whitsuntide holiday was spent with Lady Battersea, on board Mrs. Yorke's yacht the *Garland*, in a visit to the Channel Islands, which were new to me. We visited Jersey, Guernsey, and Sark, which was a charming little place, but difficult of access in bad weather.

After our return we paid a visit to the Tennysons at Farringford. He was engaged in writing his father's life, and was astonished at the number of those who had written to him begging that their names might be mentioned in the biography!

I was not surprised to hear that Lord Stanmore had asked Tennyson to say that he (Lord S.) had suggested a Peerage for Tennyson's father to Mr. Gladstone. Tennyson told me that Knowles' account of the interview of the two great men was not accurate.

One night at the Batterseas' I met the historian, Lecky, who pleased me much by complimenting me on my articles about "Changes" in the *Nineteenth Century*, and said it would be useful to future historians.

It was a lovely moonlight night, and Birrell, driving home with his wife by Barnato's house, which she admired in the brilliancy of the moon, said: "Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee," and it subsequently turned out to be the very night Barnato was drowned.

When Lord John Russell once asked Sir Walter Scott the meaning of two of his lines, Scott said: "My critics have so often made nonsense of my sense, that I think it fair they should now make sense of my nonsense."

I once, too, had the luck to sit next to Dr. Alexander, the poet Archbishop of Armagh, who told me that Dr. Hawkins, a don at Cambridge, would never admit being in the wrong.

He once met a man and said: "I was the other day introduced to your sister, Mrs. So-and-so." "No," said the man, "she is my aunt, not my sister." "I think on consideration," said the don, "you will find that she is your sister."

JUNE 22.—The Jubilee of the Sixtieth Years' Reign of the Queen.

A dull morning till about 11 o'clock, when the sun broke forth.

I went to Miss A. Rothschild's house, 142 Piccadilly.

The procession of Colonial troops began about 9.15, followed by English cavalry; a battery of sailors, which made my heart ache, thinking of Gilbert.

Of course, the procession was duly set forth in the various programmes of the day.

After it was over I went to luncheon with Mr. Wernher at Bath House. Then to Brooks's to see the decorations. The wonder to me of the day was the marvellous good humour and good feeling of soldiers and police, and people. Colonel Lane told me, in old processions, when his soldiers kept the ground, they could only do so by constantly dropping their heavy muskets on the toes of the public. How different was the process now! Each seemed to help each. It was in 1846 that a private in the 7th Hussars received 150 lashes after a fast of seventeen hours, and was refused a cup of tea after it, and died.

When walking away from Brooks's I heard some cheering, and looking round saw the crowd cheering the police, who were being formed up. This was largely owing to the well-deserved popularity of that splendid fellow Sir Edward Bradford.<sup>1</sup>

I dined at Sir C. Tennant's, and with Lady Ribblesdale and Mrs. Graham Smith went out to see the illuminations in Piccadilly. The crowd was immense, and hot, so I went into Madame Von Andre's balcony and looked at the hundreds of thousands of good-natured, sweltering people. Not a cross word, hardly a vulgar one, not a policeman visible—and this went on for hours!

With Arnold Morley to Lady Hindlip's supper, and back again to see the human tide still going on.

My sister, who visits at St. George's Hospital, told me that a whole ward was prepared for accidents, and there was not one!

<sup>1</sup> Chief of the London Police.

It is marvellous to think of the progress of sixty years ! Not a drunken person—no police charges next day.

May the progress continue, and may we be thankful for it !

On the 24th Cosmo Bonsor, the great brewer, told me our problem was solved : the stands with water had prevented any beer being sold.

JUNE 26.—At 9.30 a.m. went down in the train of the Directors of the S.W.R. Company to Southampton, and embarked on their big Guernsey boat, the *Frederica*, to see the great Naval Review. Travelled with the Chairman of the line, Wyndham Portal, Loulou Harcourt, and others. Found Sir E. Bradford, the Chief Commissioner of Police, to whom so much of the success of the London Jubilee was due—the most courageous, modest, and charming of men. Steamed through the line of vessels, which were drawn up in three perfect lines—which together extended over twenty-six miles ! It was, no doubt, the finest sight we have ever seen up to this time. What will have happened in ten more years ? Probably some means of electricity without coal will have been invented, or the use of oil.

The P. & O. boat *Campania*, 14,000 tons and 30,000 h.p. We heard of, though we did not see, the *Turbinia*, which steams 32 knots an hour.

Waited for the lighting up of the fleet by electricity, and did not get back till 4 a.m.—much too long a day's pleasure !

On July 14 I was asked by Lady Henry Somerset to be one of her guests at the dinner of a hundred distinguished ladies of the Queen's reign. The interest was lost from the fact of my not knowing who was who, and I wished they had all been labelled ! However, Lady Henry made a lovely speech, and Dr. Creighton a very frivolous one, not at all suited to the occasion. Mrs. Annie Steel, the author of *On the Face of the Waters*, made a poor speech, and that was all, but the occasion was a remarkable one, and I fear there was some heartaching among those who were not included in the chosen hundred.

At one of the many dinners that were still taking place

in this Jubilee year, I think at Lady Burghclere's, I sat next the great French novelist, Paul Bourget, who told me that he arrived at an hotel in time for the Jubilee procession, but he and his wife were told it would be impossible for them to go into the streets with safety, so they sat in the coffee-room all day!

In August I received a printed circular telling me to wear a clasp on my Jubilee Medal. What a lost opportunity!—a gracious message would have added to the value of the clasp.

During the autumn I paid a charming visit to the Tweedmouths at Guisachan, where I, in five days, got four stags. One day I made a dreadful miss, and thought of the lines:

On forms of friendship let who may insist,  
The friend who misses never will be missed.

I paid a visit to the Burghcleres, and heard a comforting sermon from a Scotch divine, who said it would not be we who would be d——d hereafter, but our sins.

Mr. Gladstone had once told me of a conversation he had had with a Calvinist, to whom he had said: "I suppose you think nobody will be saved?" "Well," he answered, "perhaps six or seven!"

On my way south, I spent some pleasant days at the Colebrookes' place "Abington" and met Lord Rosebery in Edinburgh, who talked of my *Recollections*.

He thought Mr. Gladstone was really ready to give up interest in public affairs!

John Morley had made a speech, which he did not think much of, but admired Asquith's.

I afterwards spent a few days at Hawarden. Mr. Gladstone told me that Lord Lyndhurst had often heard Pitt and Fox speak, and admired the former most.

In November I was paying a visit at the Carnarvons and made the acquaintance of Lady Westmorland, which, I am happy to say, ripened into a lifelong friendship. Herbert Wilson, the painter, was there, whom I had known for many years. One of his moralisations was that, naturally, women liked talking to those with the

experiences of their life behind them rather than younger men; but the older men should always disappear from competition when those who were young appeared on the scene.

Soon after this I paid a visit to Lady Westmorland at Aphorpe—a place to rave about; the old house and the beautiful yew walks with their wonderful chatelaine will ever remain in my memory in the brightest colours. From there I went to Sandy to stay with Lord Peel, who showed me long letters from Disraeli and his wife, begging for office in 1841. His failure led probably to his violent attacks on Sir Robert in 1846.

In the following two days I found myself dining in company with Asquith, Haldane, John Morley, A. Lyall, Justice Matthew, Lord Welby, Lord Farrer, and Dr. Collins, and to this day I bitterly regret that idleness has prevented me from keeping records of conversations with men so distinguished.

Through this year I was a constant official visitor to the Women's Convict Prison at Aylesbury, and when visiting I was often allowed to stay at Aston Clinton with Lady de Rothschild.

The female convict prison was now transferred from Woking to Aylesbury, and I was appointed Chairman of the Visiting Committee, and was lucky to get the co-operation of Adeline, Duchess of Bedford and Lady Battersea, who were excellent colleagues, and obtained many improvements in the prison. These visits made me very sad, until the interest of them eclipsed the sadness, and I really liked my visits among these poor women. As a rule they were very amenable to kindness, and bore their terrible sentences, none less than two years, with calmness and courage; but the saddest of all was to see the young girls who had been sentenced to death for the murder of their illegitimate children. Ill-educated, with horrible surroundings, often seduced by their masters and turned out to starve, what else could they do? True, that the sentences of death were never carried out, but commuted to terms of imprisonment—never less, however, than six years of their young lives. I did all I



could by writing my first article in the *Nineteenth Century* and personal communication with the prison authorities to have the law altered, but I fear in vain ; I am not without hope, nevertheless, that something will be effected by that excellent prison reformer, Mr. Ruggles Brise, who has unostentatiously done such wonders in the improvement of our prisons, for which the country should indeed be lastingly grateful.

## CHAPTER XXIII

1898

### TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY

THE beginning of this year was saddened by the death of my dear friend Robert Meade, one of the most popular and fascinating men I ever knew. We had seen much of each other from the time of his being private secretary to Lord Granville. He possessed the great charm of a softly modulated voice, which we used to say enabled him to speak his mind without offence.

When the Duke of Connaught came to live near him at Bagshot, Meade was asked to dine, which others would have treated as a Royal command, but Meade was reported to have said: "I really cannot, sir. If I was to dine with you, I should find it so difficult to refuse all my neighbours." I feel absolutely certain that he never had an enemy.

Soon after, I had a delightful visit to Althorp. Lord and Lady Spencer are really, as far as I know, the only remaining Grand Seigneur and Grande Dame, and they fill the part so well in their beautiful house and surroundings.

4TH HUSSARS, INDIA, *February 18, 1898.*

MY DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—For a very long time I have been intending to write to you. But to send a letter a long way takes as much initial effort as to throw a stone a great distance. Since I saw you in London I have had many vivid experiences—of some of which you have perhaps heard from my mother. Nor does the future display the prospect of monotony. I am trying to array what little influence I possess to procure some employment in the impending campaign in the Soudan. Alas, it is a matter of great difficulty, but perhaps I shall

succeed. To-night I am off to Meerut, to play in the Polo Tournament there, and thence on to Peshawar on the lookout for a job. Thus I roam about this country with great rapidity. But though five days in the train is an unpleasant ordeal, books help to improve as well as pass the time.

I do hope you will have read my book on the Frontier and the War. You will see that my condemnation of the Forward Policy is complete. But I have had to express myself with some moderation, lest I should be mistaken for one of you Radicals. I should like to have your opinion on the style, etc., because I feel sure it will be a kind one, and thank heaven I have cultivated a comfortable vanity. I have but a little time or energy to read the valuable collection of books and papers which Peel kindly sent us—on the subject of the liquor question. But I hope to do so shortly. I admit that the numbers of books bearing on the Licensing Law do not appeal to me. I am interested in finding out what the law should be, not what it is. Still, I suppose, from the point of view of machinery, they cannot be studied. I have somewhat lengthened and elaborated the article on Rhetoric. But I like it less the longer I look at it. Perhaps one day I shall have the courage to send it home for printing.

I wish you all good fortune and health, my dear Sir Algernon. I daresay that you observe with pleasure that the tide of public opinion is running strongly against the Government. Who is to take their place I do not see, and I hate Faddists worse than the plague, which, by the way, has killed 70,000 persons in Bombay and Southern India, and is now just beginning to get a good hold. If I may continue to ramble, Nature applies her own checks to populations, and a philosopher may watch unmoved the destruction of some of those superfluous millions, whose life must of necessity be destitute of pleasure. Yours very sincerely, WINSTON CHURCHILL.

I had a nice letter from Lord Farrer, whose place I had taken, and was too busy to join a committee on

the staff of the Bristol Hospital, which Lord Herschell asked me to undertake.

In March I was a guest at one of Sir Henry Thompson's remarkable dinners, which he called "octaves." There was a musical octave *allegro vivace* on the menu; the hour was eight, the guests eight. The dishes and wines supposed to be each eight. On this occasion the dinner consisted of A. Birrell, sparkling and witty as usual, and the rest of the party not very bright but all distinguished in one line of life or another. Each dish was a history in itself.

I sent Sir Henry Thompson, in consequence of our conversation, a copy of that most interesting book *The Soul of a People*, on which he sent me the following letter:

35 WIMPOLE STREET, W., March 17, 1898.

DEAR SIR ALGERNON,—I have read through *The Soul of a People*, wh. you were good enough to recommend me, and agree very much with the views held by the Buddhists as expounded by the writer relative to religion in general, and for precisely the reasons supplied by the Buddhists, i.e. that no man should accept dogmatic teaching about them, or indeed about any statements, without adequate evidence to support them. I cannot accept the doctrine of the transference of any man's "soul" from generation to generation *ad infinitum*, or as I should rather say, to Nirvana, and precisely for the same reason above given, viz. that there are no adequate grounds for believing that doctrine.

Up to that point the formula "Believe nothing without proof of its truth" is simply that of the Agnostic; a term so greatly misunderstood by most people as to be regarded as having a "material" or even an "Atheistic" tendency, whereas it is in reality the "True Faith."

The Agnostic only requires adequate evidence for the truth of *all* that he believes, precisely as the Buddhist, and he denies nothing, deeply conscious as he is that some great power is the source and support of all things by which we are surrounded, unknowable and unimaginable by man with his present faculties. And that the Laws

of Nature, like gravitation, etc., rule all the phenomena of the Universe. Of a future state he *knows* nothing, and therefore does not deny there may be one. In fine, he limits his beliefs to matters of fact, ascertained by irresistible proof to be so; and desires never to declare the impossibility of anything which may occur when evidence arrives to prove its existence. I hope you will pardon this long comment on the work; at least it proves that I have read it carefully, and that you will concede my claim to regard the Buddha to be largely Agnostic in his teaching.

Yours sincerely, HENRY THOMPSON.

The early months of 1898 were taken up in a County Council Election, which I had been persuaded to go in for by Lord Welby, backed by H. Asquith. This I did in conjunction with J. Wallop, both of us standing as "Progressives" for Marylebone—which, as we knew, was a hopeless contest.

During the canvass and at nightly meetings we enjoyed ourselves immensely, and if we had been younger and less experienced we should have been deluded into the belief that we were going to be successful, for our meetings were enthusiastically in our favour, and all sorts of people were on our side; but I knew full well that the "leisured classes," who preferred their comfortable dinners to crowded meetings in stuffy schoolrooms, would attend at the poll in thousands to vote for our opponents.

Some things specially amused us in our canvass: I asked a woman, who had the privilege of the municipal franchise, if she would vote for us, and she said: "Vote for you? no, I've been an honest woman all my life and I mean to remain so."

I was also amused when in canvassing in the more aristocratic regions of St. John's Wood—so touchingly described by the *Daily Telegraph* as the "shady groves of the Evangelist"—I came across a lawyer, who hailed me with enthusiasm, saying he agreed with every word of my address, and was so delighted that people like

Wallop and myself had come forward to represent the constituency. "Well, then," I said, "I shall rely on your vote on Thursday." "Ah! that is the worst of it," he said. "Your opponents called upon me yesterday, and I promised to vote for them!"

Our agent was very optimistic, and asked Wallop if it was true that he was heir-presumptive to an earldom, and his mind being relieved on that point he said: "That will have the best effect, when it is known, for you and Sir Algernon."

A snowy evening came and we were defeated horse and foot by Lord Hardwicke, an excellent candidate, and Mr. White. But a week after I had the honour of being elected an Alderman in the place of Lord Farrer.

It was a delight to find so many friends already in the Council: Lords Tweedmouth and Carrington, Mr. Arnold, Lord Welby, who was Vice-Chairman, and soon after we were joined by Sir Francis Mowatt and Lord Ribblesdale. I was not long either before I made the acquaintance and I hope the friendship of many others: Sir W. Collins, also Mr. McKinnon Wood, who was at that time Chairman of the Council; Mr. Torrance—whose death we all deeply deplored, a splendid type of a genial man of business, who won universal respect and affection; John Burns and Mr. Macdougall, Yates, and many others, among whom was Mr. W. Crooks, whose speeches were very pathetic and sense of humour delightful. He told me one day that his agent at Woolwich had warned him that his opponent was constantly boasting that he had four uncles in the Army. "Tell them," he said as a set-off, "that I have had five aunts in the workhouse." On another occasion he was deprecating the offering of a reward to anyone who would devise a remedy for the consumption of smoke. A man had called on him recently and said smoke would disappear if he would put a pint of a mixture which he had invented on a ton of coal. "A ton of coal?" said he. "Do you take me for a millionaire?"

Lord Elcho<sup>1</sup> was full of a ready wit peculiarly his own.

<sup>1</sup> Present Lord Wemyss.

Two amusing things that were said in debate at the Council, instances of metaphor and confusion, I recall. One member said: "Why, gentlemen, the ink is hardly dry on the document before you dig it up to see how it is growing." And another: "The hon. member drew a red herring across our path last year, and now it has come home to roost."

These, however, were momentary lapses—amusement in the midst of heavy and serious business.

I was put on the Parks and the Theatres Committees, of which latter I was soon made Chairman in succession to my friend Mr. Yates, and I had the honour of having a speech I made on our proceedings printed and circulated by a vote of the Council.

Whenever at a theatre my children or grandchildren see the fire curtain, they may look at it as the work of the Committee of which their father or grandfather was for so long a time Chairman.

Lord Rosebery gave a dinner to the Progressive Committee, and gave them some excellent advice as to choice of aldermen, etc., which they willingly followed.

A day or two after I dined again with Lord Rosebery, who made me stay and talk for hours, but when our conversation was over I was not, as the farmer said, "a bit forrarder."

This was curious, for at a time of great interest in matters political I should have expected to have heard things other than criticisms, which are amusing and easy to make, but valueless.

MAY 9.—I met Frederic Harrison at dinner at Verney's,<sup>1</sup> who talked to me of John Morley and regretted his position, hoping he would give up politics for literature. If he was accepted as a Leader by the Irish he might have a chance, but that was not likely. He could never be a Leader, and should write Mr. Gladstone's life. Knew nothing of his *Chatham*, and the time was not propitious for his book on the history of Home Rule. Told me he met Mr. Gladstone soon after the publication of John Morley's *Cromwell*, which he said he did not care

<sup>1</sup> M.P. for Bucks.

for, and when Harrison said he thought well of it he compared him to Lord Althorp.

MAY 10.—Saw A. Harmsworth, who said things were in a deplorable state, and a break-up must come.

J. Chamberlain was trying to be firm with France against Lord Salisbury, and was at the bottom of all these attacks on him in the Press. Edward Grey was the man they were looking to, and Rosebery.

Mr. Gladstone was staying with his son Harry in Whitehall Court, when I went to see him and found him very weak. We walked up and down the passage for a long time, but I felt he was in pain. When I went away, he pressed my hand and said, "God bless you."

At the station I went to say what proved to be a final "farewell" on his departure for Bournemouth. On Ascension Day he died! "With his departure the great luminary of the Liberal Party has disappeared beneath the horizon, and we shall have to fight on shorn of the glory and the light with which his name and fame have vivified our cause. We shall have lost that mighty central force which governed the orbit of the Liberal Party and held together all its elements by its supreme attraction!"

A public funeral in Westminster Abbey was decided on, and the Duke of Norfolk wrote and asked me to help him with the arrangements,<sup>1</sup> which I, of course, was very happy to do. The Duke's extraordinary modesty was delightful, and he was very anxious that neither his religion nor his politics should cause him to be unfair in any way to Liberals or Nonconformists. But there were many difficulties. The Prince of Wales wished the Bishop of London to say a few words after the funeral, but the Dean refused absolutely, saying: "No Bishop has any jurisdiction in Westminster Abbey." So the idea had to be given up.

In the evening Spencer Lyttelton and I went together to Westminster to receive the coffin.

The Duke of Norfolk, Reggie Brett, and Eddie

<sup>1</sup> The Abbey arrangements were in his hands as Hereditary Earl Marshal.



Hamilton were there, and we made a small procession to Westminster Hall, Basil Wilberforce saying a few prayers. The time, the place, and the hour, to say nothing of the occasion, made the little ceremony very impressive.

I got home at 3 a.m.

In the evening I had dined with my brother-in-law, Harry Keppel, who was six months older than Mr. Gladstone.

On May 20 Mrs. Harry Gladstone wrote to me a description of his last moments.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, *May 20, 1898.*

DEAR SIR ALGIE,—You are kind and say just what one wants. I have written one or two letters, and I feel it is a mistake to write about it just now. I feel so awed when I think of all I have witnessed. It was indeed a prolongation of agony for us, but it was peaceful for him, and one cannot but be thankful for that. Mrs. Gladstone was by his side for two days and most of the nights, and from Thursday at 2 a.m. in his room. It was a glorious day [Ascension Day] for his soul to pass to his Maker. I thought it would before I came here, and it came true, tho' we had been summoned for his end four times. We are satisfied about her. She is perfectly her old self and talks most beautifully—the cloud of the last year completely vanished. We are keeping her in bed.

Your affe., MAUD.

MAY 27.—I took Mrs. Bryce to see the lying-in-state in Westminster Hall, and was surprised to see her in a white gown, which, she declared, was as deep mourning as black.

It was a wonderful sight to see the thousands of people passing reverently by the coffin of the man who had so gained their hearts and affections.

On leaving, I met John Morley and discussed Mr. Gladstone's letters and the question of writing his life, which are left to the discretion of his three surviving sons. Morley said he would not undertake to write his biography, which should be done by a really capable man—say,

Herbert Paul—to whom should be given a large salary for four years to bring the life out complete. The family had an idea of publishing some five hundred letters now, which would be unwise and impossible. Ten thousand pounds had been offered for his papers.

John Morley was severe on Mr. Gladstone's last Government—a Government with a wretched majority that had been rejected with ignominy by the country, as Mr. Gladstone himself said he could only compare himself and his Government to Lady Burdett-Coutts and Ashmead Bartlett, married to a man of a younger generation. John Burns and Acton came up and interrupted our conversation.

May 28 was the day fixed for the funeral—a magnificent sight, as we walked bare-headed in the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey. The solemn music and beautiful service were very impressive, and we left all that was mortal of the great man, lying at the feet of Peel, his old master.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, *June 1, 1898.*

DEAR SIR ALGIE,—Even in that multitude and tumult of feelings and emotion I was conscious of being so sorry to see you and not to be able to get near you. I was outside the west door waiting for a carriage (which never came), and would have walked back with you if I could have made you see me. After all we have gone thro' it was a trying ordeal to get lost in that stream of M.P.s. Well, I only tell you this for the sake of telling you I saw you and wanted to speak to you.

That glorious service was a fitting farewell and benediction, and one felt the throb of devout and reverent hearts all thro' the Abbey.

Can you understand I felt it was such an impressive and supreme event in my small life that I was conscious of its being too great, and that the retrospect would be the greatest and most precious possession? A Divine Providence has certainly helped us here. I can never be grateful enough for Mrs. Gladstone's wonderful calmness and naturalness. For the time, too, her health has im-

proved ; one does not dread the reaction coming now in a dreaded or painful form. Please write me a little line. I have much to hear and a little to say, and you will find me home again next week. I long now for the sun to shine on us here. The letters have been wonderful. There is much actual grind, too, in opening and sorting over 5,000 resolutions. I have had no time to write for myself.

Yours ever, MAUD.

JUNE 18.—At Waddesdon J. Chamberlain said Mr. Gladstone was a bad judge of men and literature, but was so far above other men that he saw no difference between Harcourt, Bright, and Childers. From a high mountain all things look equal.

JUNE 19.—Chamberlain contended that it was an impossibility to be great and good. In reference to Napoleon. The essence of goodness was to be unselfish and indeed self-denying, and thus to destroy greatness.

Walked with Haldane, who said Chamberlain had strong Liberal leanings. Thought Rosebery was very wise to wait. Would form a party of his own. E. Grey, Foreign Secretary. Asquith not progressing. Mrs. Asquith was apt to sacrifice the future for the pleasures of to-day ; the result of superabundance of animal vitality and spirit.

A long talk with Chamberlain after dinner on the Civil Service and what they thought of their chiefs ; there were no two opinions of what the chiefs thought of them. The loyalty of Mr. Gladstone was unfailing.

Talked of Goschen, whom I thought clever to get on in spite of every horrid trick in speaking. Whenever a colleague made a good speech, Goschen always attributed it to something he had said. As to the composition of Cabinets—people were put in who would be disagreeable if they were left out. Now there were very few Cabinets, as they did not want to discuss or argue important things before all the members.

He hoped the Spaniards would be swept off the face of the earth, etc.

We lamented Harcourt's temper, which he could not

control. They had entered into a compact that they would neither attack each other, but he always broke it.

When Chamberlain produced his unauthorised programme, Harcourt said he should part company with him when it came to disestablishment.

There was now appointed a committee for erecting a monument to Mr. Gladstone ; I was put on the Executive Committee, and we soon collected more money than was required.

The London statue subsequently erected in the Strand, by St. Clement Danes, was entrusted to Thornycroft, who succeeded admirably, though I rather regret the figures at the corners.

It is sad to think, after all Mr. Gladstone did for Ireland, that they would not accept what we offered them for a monument in Dublin !

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I think there can be no better point than this, after the funeral of the great leader, at which to cut the thread of Sir Algernon's reminiscences. In the main they are the record of a wonderful service, most lovingly given, to that leader, and it is pathetic that the lead should be to apparent and bitter failure. Irish Home Rule has come again to a life far more wonderful than Mr. Gladstone, or even Sir Algernon, who long outlived his chief, could foresee, but it appeared dead with Mr. Gladstone then, and it killed for years the Party that had supported it. Whether that failure was the seed from which springs this revival, some wizard may know. I do not.

Sir Algernon continued to write his diaries, and they are always entertaining, but they have not the same public interest as when he was actively helping to make history. And he had no wish to resume that activity after the death of his beloved master.

H. G. H.



## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Aberdeen, 7th Earl of, afterwards 1st Marquess; Governor-General of Canada, 1893; Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland for a few months in 1886 and again from 1905 to 1915.
- Acland, Rt. Hon. Arthur Dyke; M.P. for Rotherham; Vice-President of Committee of the Council of Education, 1892-5.
- Acton, 1st Lord; Regius Professor of History at Cambridge and Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria.
- Antrobus, Col. Sir Edmund, Bart.; owner of Stonehenge.
- Arch, Joseph; M.P. for North-West Norfolk; brought up as an agricultural labourer; founder of the National Agricultural Union.
- Armitstead, George, afterwards Lord Armitstead; a friend and frequent host of Mr. Gladstone.
- Ashley, Rt. Hon. Evelyn, P.C., M.P.; Under-Secretary for Colonies, 1882-5.
- Asquith, Mrs.; wife of Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith and daughter of Sir Charles Tennant, Bart.
- Astor, Mrs.; daughter of J. W. Paul, of Philadelphia, and wife of W. W. Astor, afterwards 1st Viscount Astor.
- Balfour, Lady Frances; daughter of the Duke of Argyll and sister-in-law of Mr. A. J. Balfour; one of the earliest and most ardent advocates of the right of women to the vote.
- Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Campbell; Prime Minister, 1905-8.
- Baring, Hon. Thomas George; M.P. for Falmouth, 1857 to 1866, when he succeeded his father as Lord Northbrook; Governor-General of India, 1872-6; First Lord of Admiralty, 1880.
- Barrington, Charles George; Private Secretary to Lord Palmerston and to Lord Russell.
- Battersea, Lady; daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild; wife of Lord Battersea (formerly Mr. Cyril Flower).
- Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-, afterwards 1st Earl St. Aldwyn; President of Board of Trade, 1880; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1895-1902; M.P. for West Bristol.
- Bell, C. Moberly; for many years manager of *The Times*.
- Bigge, Sir Arthur, now Lord Stamfordham; one of Queen Victoria's private secretaries.
- Blackwood, Sir Arthur, K.C.B.; Financial Secretary to the Post Office.
- Blundell, C. J. Weld; owner of extensive estates in Lancashire.
- Borthwick, Sir Algernon, afterwards Lord Glenesk; owner of the *Morning Post*.
- Boulanger; the French general who had an immense, but transient, vogue.
- Bourke, Hon. Mrs. Edward; married secondly the 5th Earl of Clarendon.
- Bowen, Lord Chief Justice; even more famed for his ability as raconteur than for his legal learning.
- Brassey, Lord, afterwards 1st Earl; held many offices; owner of the yacht *Sunbeam*; founder of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.
- Breadalbane, 1st Marquess and 7th Earl; Lord Steward of the Household, 1892-5.
- Brett, Hon. Reginald, afterwards 2nd Viscount Esher.

- Bridges, Robert; Poet Laureate.  
 Bridport, Major-General, 1st Viscount; Lord-in-Waiting.  
 Brise, Sir E. Ruggles-, K.C.B.; Chairman of Prison Commission, 1895.  
 Browning, Oscar; Master at Eton; Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.  
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James; afterwards Viscount Bryce and Ambassador at Washington; President of the Board of Trade, 1894.  
 Buchanan, Rt. Hon. Sir Andrew, Bart., G.C.B.  
 Burns, Rt. Hon. John; M.P. (Labour) for Battersea, 1892-1918; President Local Government Board, 1905-14.  
 Burt, Rt. Hon. T.; M.P. (Labour) for Morpeth, 1874-1918; Parliamentary Secretary of Board of Trade, 1892-5.  
 Burton, Sir Richard F.; Oriental traveller and scholar, and translator of the *Arabian Nights*.  
 Cadogan, Hon. Frederick; an old friend of Sir Algernon; had been with him in the Crimea.  
 Caine, W. S.; Vice-President of the United Kingdom Alliance; a strong opponent of the opium trade.  
 Carmichael, Sir J. M., 3rd Bart.; secretary to Mr. Gladstone in 1885.  
 Carmichael, Sir T. Gibson, Bart., afterwards 1st Baron Carmichael; Governor of Bengal, 1912-16.  
 Carnegie, Andrew; American millionaire; owner of Skibo Castle, near Dornoch.  
 Carrington, Earl, afterwards 1st Marquess of Lincolnshire; Lord Chamberlain of the Household, 1892-6.  
 Cavendish, Lady Frederick; daughter of 4th Lord Lyttelton and widow of Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was murdered in the Phoenix Park, Dublin.  
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, M.P.; President of the Board of Trade under Mr. Gladstone, 1880-5; Colonial Secretary, 1895-1903.  
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry, afterwards Viscount Chaplin; M.P. for Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire; Chancellor of the Duchy; President of Board of Agriculture, of Local Government Board, etc.  
 Chesterfield, 10th Earl of; Treasurer of the Queen's Household, 1892-4.  
 Childers, Rt. Hon. Hugh Eardley; held many offices; Home Secretary, 1886; Secretary for War.  
 Churchill, Lord Randolph; Chancellor of Exchequer and Leader of the House, 1886.  
 Clarendon, 5th Earl of; sometime Lord Chamberlain.  
 Clark, Sir Andrew; a famous physician of the day.  
 Cohen, Rt. Hon. Arthur, P.C.; Counsel to Secretary of State for India, 1893.  
 Coleridge, 1st Lord; Lord Chief Justice.  
 Coleridge, Hon. Bernard; succeeded his father as 2nd Lord Coleridge in 1894.  
 Collins, Lieut.-Col. Arthur, C.B.; gentleman usher to the Queen.  
 Colville, Col. the Hon. Sir W. J.; Master of the Ceremonies.  
 Condie, Sir Stephen; a diplomat with great knowledge of Eastern affairs.  
 Cork and Orrery, 9th Earl of; Master of the Buckhounds.  
 Cork, Emily, Countess of; wife of the above and daughter of 1st Marquess of Clanricarde.  
 Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard; later Lord Courtney of Penwith.  
 Cowell, Major-General Rt. Hon. Sir J. C.; Master of the Household.  
 Cranborne, Viscount; eldest son of 3rd Marquess of Salisbury; succeeded his father 1903.  
 Crawshaw, Mrs.; daughter of Sir John and Lady Constance Leslie.  
 Creighton, Mandell; Bishop of Peterborough, 1891-7, and of London 1897-1901.  
 Cross, E. D.; husband of "George Eliot" the novelist; translator of *Dante*.

- Currie, Sir Donald ; head of the great shipping firm.
- Currie, Sir Philip ; diplomat ; Ambassador at Constantinople ; Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, etc.
- Curzon, Hon. George Nathaniel, afterwards 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.
- Cust, Henry ; well known in society ; edited the *Pall Mall Gazette*.
- Dalling and Bulwer, Henry, Lord ; diplomat and writer ; Ambassador at Washington and joint author of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.
- Dasent, Sir George ; best known by his translations of the Sagas.
- Davey, Sir Horace, afterwards Lord Davey ; Lord of Appeal.
- Davitt, Michael ; Home Rule M.P.
- De Grey, Lord, afterwards 1st Marquess of Ripon ; held many offices ; First Lord of Admiralty, 1886 ; Secretary for the Colonies, 1892.
- Develle, M. ; French Foreign Minister.
- Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles ; M.P. for Chelsea ; Chairman of the Local Government Board, 1882-5.
- Donaldson, Professor James ; Principal of St. Andrews University.
- Dougherty, J. B. ; Professor at Magee College ; later Sir James and holder of several minor offices of state in Ireland.
- Douglas, Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers-, afterwards 1st Viscount Chilston ; Conservative Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury ; later, Home Secretary.
- Dowse, Rt. Hon. Richard ; Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland ; a noted wit.
- Drew, Mrs. ; wife of the Rev. H. Drew, daughter of Mr. Gladstone.
- Drumlanrig, Viscount ; heir to the Queensberry Marquisate ; he was created Lord Kelhead, but died the next year.
- Duff, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert ; Governor of New South Wales.
- Dufferin and Ava, Frederick, 1st Marquess of ; distinguished diplomatist ; Viceroy of India, 1884 ; Ambassador in Paris, 1891-6.
- Egerton, Hon. Francis ; son of 1st Earl of Ellesmere ; owned St. George's Hill at Weybridge ; married Lady Louisa Cavendish, sister of the 8th Duke of Devonshire.
- Ellis, Rt. Hon. J. E. ; M.P. for Rushcliffe, Notts.
- Fairfax, Admiral Sir Henry, K.C.B. ; Naval Lord of the Admiralty ; he was associated with the *Howe* case.
- Farquhar, Sir Horace, afterwards 1st Viscount Farquhar, and Lord Steward of the Household.
- Farquharson, Rt. Hon. Robert ; Liberal M.P. for Aberdeenshire.
- Farrer, Sir Thomas, afterwards 1st Lord Farrer.
- Fisher, Rt. Hon. W. Hayes ; M.P. for Fulham ; afterwards 1st Lord Downham.
- Fitzgibbon, Rt. Hon. Gerald ; Irish Lord of Appeal.
- Foljambe, Cecil George, created Baron Hawkesbury, 1893, and Earl of Liverpool, 1905.
- Fowler, Rt. Hon. Henry, afterwards 1st Viscount Wolverhampton ; Secretary for India, Chancellor of the Duchy, and Lord President of the Council.
- Frederica, H.R.H. Princess, of Hanover ; married to Baron von Pawel-Rammingen ; they had a villa at Biarritz.
- Fremantle, Sir Thomas, afterwards 1st Lord Cottesloe ; Chief Secretary for Ireland and Secretary for War in Sir R. Peel's Government, 1841 ; Chairman of the Board of Customs.
- Gardner, Rt. Hon. Herbert, afterwards Lord Burghclere ; M.P. for North Essex ; President of Board of Agriculture, 1892-5.
- Gaskell, Mrs. ; wife of H. B. Gaskell, of Kiddington, Oxon ; Organizer of the Red Cross Hospital Library in the Great War.
- Ginsburg, Dr. C. D., D.C.L. ; a great Biblical scholar.



- Gladstone, Miss Helen; daughter of Mr. Gladstone.  
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert, afterwards 1st Viscount Gladstone.  
 Glynn, Sir Stephen; M.P. for Flint; Mrs. Gladstone's brother.  
 Godley, Sir Arthur, afterwards 1st Lord Kilbracken; Private Secretary to Mr. Gladstone, 1872-4 and 1880-2; Under-Secretary for India, 1883-1909.  
 Gordon, Hon. Arthur, afterwards 1st Lord Stanmore; son of the Earl of Aberdeen; Colonial Governor.  
 Goschen, George Joachim, afterwards 1st Viscount Goschen; President of Poor Law Board, Chancellor of Exchequer, and First Lord of Admiralty.  
 Gower, George Leveson (afterwards Sir George), son of late Hon. F. Leveson Gower; one of Mr. Gladstone's secretaries, 1880-5.  
 Graham, Sir James; First Lord of Admiralty; Mr. Gladstone became Chancellor of Exchequer in 1851 on Sir J. Graham's declining the office.  
 Granby, Violet, Marchioness of, afterwards Duchess of Rutland.  
 Granville, 1st Earl; held many offices, notably Foreign Secretary.  
 Grenfell, Henry; well known in Society; was in the 60th Rifles.  
 Grenfell, W. H.; afterwards 1st Lord Desborough.  
 Grey, Albert, afterwards 4th Earl Grey; Governor-General of Canada, 1904-9.  
 Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C.; Speaker of the House; afterwards 1st Viscount Selby.  
 Haldane, Miss Elizabeth; sister of Lord Haldane.  
 Hambro, E. A., afterwards Sir Everard; head of the banking firm.  
 Hamilton, Sir Edward; private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, 1873-4, and 1880-5; afterwards Permanent Financial Secretary.  
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George; Secretary for India and 1st Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Salisbury.  
 Harcourt, Sir William Vernon; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1886, and again in the Government of 1892.  
 Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis ("Loulou"); son of above. Afterwards 1st Viscount Harcourt.  
 Harmsworth, Alfred, afterwards 1st Viscount Northcliffe.  
 Hartington, Marquess of, afterwards 8th Duke of Devonshire; Leader of Liberal Unionist Party after the split on Home Rule.  
 Harrel, Rt. Hon. Sir David; Chief Commissioner of Dublin Metropolitan Police; Under-Secretary for Ireland.  
 Hayter, Sir Arthur, afterwards 1st Lord Haversham; Financial Secretary to the War Office.  
 Heneage, Edward, 1st Baron; Chairman of the Liberal Unionist Council.  
 Herschell, 1st Lord; Lord Chancellor, 1886 and 1892-5.  
 Hibbert, Rt. Hon. Sir J. T.; Secretary to the Treasury.  
 Holland, Rev. H. Scott, D.D.; Canon of St. Paul's, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; a great preacher.  
 Hook, Rev. Cecil; fifteen years vicar of the Hoole Memorial Church of All Souls, Leeds; afterwards Bishop of Kingston-on-Thames.  
 Houghton, Lord, afterwards 1st Marquess of Crewe; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1892-5.  
 Hunter, Peter Hay, D.D.; of the Church of Scotland.  
 Ilbert, Sir Courtenay; Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, 1899-1902; Clerk to the House of Commons, 1902-21.  
 Illingworth, Rev. J. R., D.D.  
 James, Henry, afterwards Lord James of Hereford; Attorney-General; Chancellor of Duchy of Cornwall, 1892-5, and of Duchy of Lancaster, 1895-1902.  
 James, Henry; the American novelist.

Jekyll, Col. Sir Herbert; Secretary to Lord Houghton in Ireland, 1892-5.  
 Jenkyns, Sir Henry, K.C.B.; First Parliamentary Counsel, 1886-99.  
 Jeune, Mrs., afterwards Lady St. Helier; wife of the famous Judge of the Divorce Court.

Karslake, Sir W. W.; Controller of Succession Duties.  
 Kensington, 5th Lord; died in 1900 of wounds received in South Africa.  
 Kinns, Dr.; a popular lecturer who aimed at reconciling the Book of Genesis with the latest scientific views.

Knollys, Rt. Hon. Sir Francis, afterwards 1st Viscount Knollys; Private Secretary to Edward VII both when Prince of Wales and when King, and to King George, 1910-13.

Labouchere, Rt. Hon. Henry; owner and editor of *Truth*; gifted politician, but often a thorn in the side both of his own party and of the Opposition.

Lambert, Sir George Thomas; secretary at different times to several members of the Government.

Lawson, E. L., afterwards 1st Lord Burnham; owner and editor of the *Daily Telegraph*.

Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bart.; great temperance advocate, but a very witty speaker.

Lefevre, Rt. Hon. George Shaw, afterwards 1st Lord Eversley; First Commissioner of Works, 1892; President of Local Government Board, 1894, etc.

Leighton, Lord; President of the Royal Academy.

Leslie, Lady Constance; wife of Sir John Leslie, Bart., of Glaslough; sister of 4th Earl of Portarlington.

Lewis, Rt. Hon. Sir George Cornewall; succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of Exchequer in 1855.

Lingen, 1st Lord; many years Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.

Loch, 1st Lord; Governor of the Cape, High Commissioner for South Africa, etc.

Lowe, Rt. Hon. Robert, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1868; Home Secretary, 1873; died, 1892.

Lucy, H. W., afterwards Sir Henry; for many years "Toby, M.P." of *Punch's* "Parliamentary Diary."

Lugard, Col. Sir F. D.; served with distinction in India and held various military and administrative commands in Africa.

Lyall, Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred; a distinguished Indian Civil Servant.

Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred, M.P.; great cricketer and tennis player; Colonial Secretary, 1903-5.

Lyttelton, General Rt. Hon. Sir Neville; Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Lyttelton, Hon. Spencer; private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, 1871-4, 1882-5, and 1892-4.—All these three Lytteltons were nephews of Mr. Gladstone.

Lytton, 1st Earl of; son of Bulwer-Lytton the novelist, afterwards 1st Baron Lytton; Governor-General of India, 1876-80, and later Ambassador at Paris.

M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, W. A.; one of the junior Lords of the Treasury.

McCarthy, Justin, M.P.; historian, etc.; Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

Mahaffy, Professor; of Trinity College, Dublin; distinguished Greek historian, etc.

Marjoribanks, Hon. Edward, afterwards 2nd Lord Tweedmouth; Comptroller to the Household, 1886; Chief Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, 1892-4; later, Chancellor of the Duchy.

Marjoribanks, Lady Fanny; wife of above; daughter of 7th Duke of Marlborough.

- Mather, Sir William; Chairman of Messrs. Mather & Platt, the Sleaford Ironworks; instituted an eight hours' working day there and was much in advance of his day as employer of labour.
- Mather, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C.; Judge; Chairman of Evicted Tenants' Commission.
- Matthews, Rt. Hon. Henry, afterwards Viscount Llandaff; Home Secretary, 1886-92.
- Meade, Hon. Sir Robert; son of 3rd Earl of Clanwilliam; Permanent Under-Secretary for Colonies, 1892-7.
- Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. W.; Chairman of Committees.
- Melville, Sir W. H.; Solicitor to Board of Inland Revenue.
- Milner, Rt. Hon. Alfred, afterwards 1st Viscount Milner; Chairman of Inland Revenue Board, 1892; later High Commissioner of South Africa.
- Monkswell, 2nd Lord; Chairman of London County Council; Under-Secretary for War, 1895.
- Monson, Sir E. J.; Ambassador Extraordinary at Vienna, 1893.
- Monson, Sir W. J., Bart.; later Lord Oxenbridge; held various Court appointments; the Ambassador above was his brother.
- Morier, Sir Robert; as a diplomatist held various posts of high importance; Ambassador at St. Petersburg and afterwards at Berlin.
- Morley, 3rd Earl of. He held many offices of State.
- Morley, Rt. Hon. Arnold; M.P. for Nottingham; Chief Liberal Whip; Postmaster-General, 1892.
- Morris, Lewis; author of the *Epic of Hades*, etc.
- Morris, Michael, afterwards 1st Lord Morris and Killanin; Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and Lord of Appeal.
- Mowatt, Rt. Hon. Sir Francis; distinguished Civil Servant; Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.
- Mundella, Rt. Hon. A. J.; President of Board of Trade in 1886 and again in 1892-4.
- Murray, Rt. Hon. Sir George; private secretary to Mr. Gladstone and later to Lord Rosebery when Prime Minister; Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1903-11.
- Napier, Hon. Mark; son of Lord Napier and Ettrick, M.P. for Roxburgh, 1892-5.
- Northcote, Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford, afterwards 1st Earl of Iddesleigh; holder of many posts; Chancellor of Exchequer, President of Board of Trade, and Leader of the Commons.
- Noble, J.; writer on finance and financial reforms.
- O'Brien, R. Barry; author and Home Ruler, best known by his admirable *Life of Parnell*.
- Pagenstecker, Professor H.; the great oculist at Wiesbaden.
- Paget, Augustus; diplomat; one of Sir Algernon's earliest friends; member of the "Nursery," an informal club of a few young diplomats and Civil Servants, next the printer's in Downing Street.
- Parnell, Charles Stewart; the great Irish leader.
- Paul, Herbert; Liberal M.P., 1892-9 and 1906-9; a distinguished author and a biographer of Mr. Gladstone.
- Paulton, H.; well known and well liked in society.
- Pauncefoot, 1st Lord; Ambassador at Washington.
- Pease, Sir J. A., afterwards 1st Lord Gainford; Liberal M.P.; President of the Board of Education, 1911-15; Postmaster-General, 1916.
- Peel, Sir Charles L.; Clerk of the Council, 1875-98.
- Peel, Hon. William, afterwards 2nd Viscount Peel; eldest son of Speaker Peel.
- Pemberton, Sir E. Leigh; Legal Assistant to Under-Secretary to the Home Office, 1885-94.

- Playfair, Rt. Hon. Sir Lyon, afterwards 1st Lord Playfair; M.P. 1868-92; Postmaster-General, etc.
- Plunket, David, afterwards 1st Lord Rathmore; First Commissioner of Works, 1885-92.
- Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Sir F.; Minister at Brussels, afterwards Ambassador at Vienna.
- Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Sir Horace; M.P. for Dublin, 1892-1900.
- Pollock, Sir C. E.; Judge of the High Court, 1875-97.
- Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry; perhaps the most intimate and trusted of all Queen Victoria's advisers.
- Portal, Sir Gerald; sent on mission to Uganda; died at his post in Egypt.
- Poynder, Sir John Dickson, afterwards 1st Lord Islington; Conservative M.P., 1892-1910.
- Primrose, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry; Secretary to Mr. Gladstone in 1886.
- Prinsep, Sir H. T.; distinguished Indian civilian.
- Ramfurly, 5th Earl of; Governor of New Zealand, 1897-1904.
- Reay, 11th Lord; Chief of the Clan Mackay; Governor of Bombay, 1885-90; Under-Secretary for India, 1894-5.
- Redmond, John; after Parnell's eclipse, leader of the Irish Party.
- Reid, Sir Robert; Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor and 1st Earl Loreburn.
- Reid, Sir T. Wemyss; distinguished writer and journalist; editor of the *Speaker*.
- Rendel, Stuart, afterwards 1st Lord Rendel; friend and frequent host of Mr. Gladstone; had a villa with a famous garden near Nice.
- Rhodes, Col. Frank; brother of Cecil; among those condemned to death at Pretoria after the Jameson Raid, but afterwards released.
- Ribblesdale, 4th Lord; Master of the Buckhounds, 1892-5.
- Ribblesdale, Lady; first wife of the above and daughter of Sir Charles Tennant, Bart.
- Ribot, M.; French Foreign Minister and afterwards Premier.
- Ridgeway, Rt. Hon. Sir West; Under-Secretary for Ireland, 1887-93; Governor of Ceylon, 1896-1903.
- Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew White; afterwards 1st Viscount Ridley; Home Secretary, 1895.
- Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T., afterwards 1st Lord Ritchie; held various Cabinet offices under Lord Salisbury; instrumental in starting County Councils.
- Robson, Sir W. S., afterwards Lord Robson; a Lord of Appeal.
- Rodd, Sir Rennell; distinguished diplomatist, scholar, and writer.
- Rogers, Rev. William; known as "Hang Theology Rogers"; Rector of St. Botolph's and Prebendary of St. Paul's.
- Romer, Lord Justice; Judge of the High Court.
- Rothschild, Anthony de; banker; a great collector of works of art.
- Rowton, Lord (Montagu Corry); Disraeli's favourite private secretary.
- Russell, Charles, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen; Lord Chief Justice, 1894.
- Russell, Rt. Hon. George W. E.; Under-Secretary for India, 1892; writer of many sketches, biographies, memoirs, etc.
- Russell, Lord Odo, afterwards 1st Lord Amthill; distinguished diplomatist; sent on special mission to German Headquarters; subsequently Ambassador at Berlin.
- Sanderson, Sir T. H., afterwards Lord Sanderson; Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office.
- Sands, Mrs.; an American widow who entertained in London.
- Sassoon, Mrs. Arthur; sister of Mrs. Leopold de Rothschild.
- Seymour, Horace; private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, 1880-5; afterwards Deputy Master of the Mint.

- Shand, H. ; Secretary to Sir A. West when Chairman of Inland Revenue Board. Was of invaluable service to Mr. Gladstone and Sir. A. West during the Biarritz visit.
- Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir Ughtred Kay, Bart., afterwards Lord Shuttleworth ; Secretary to Admiralty, 1892-5.
- Singleton, Mrs., afterwards wife of Sir Philip Currie ; writer of books and magazine articles.
- Smalley, George Washburn ; correspondent in London of the *New York Herald*.
- Smith, Mrs. Graham ; daughter of Sir Charles Tennant, Bart.
- Smith, Rt. Hon. W. H. ; Leader of the House of Commons.
- Somerset, Lady Henry ; devoted her life to advocating temperance and to philanthropic work ; a gifted public speaker.
- Spencer, 5th Earl ; sometime Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, President of Council, etc. ; First Lord of Admiralty in Mr. Gladstone's 1892 Government.
- Spofforth, Markham ; Master in Chancery ; principal Conservative Agent for twenty years.
- Stael, Baron de ; Russian Ambassador in London.
- Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. Sir J. ; President of Local Government Board.
- Stephen, Sir J. Fitzjames ; distinguished lawyer and writer on legal subjects.
- Strachey, St. Loe ; editor of the *Spectator*.
- Stratford de Redcliffe, Viscount ; our Ambassador at Constantinople in the Crimean War ; Kinglake's "Great Elchi."
- Sydney, Earl ; Lord Chamberlain, 1859-66 and again 1868-74.
- Talbot, Hon. Mrs. ; Lavinia, daughter of Lord Lyttelton and wife of Rt. Rev. E. S. Talbot, Bishop of Winchester.
- Tennant, Sir Charles, 1st Bart. ; of the "Glen," in Peeblesshire.
- Tennant, Sir Edward, Bart. ; eldest son of above, afterwards 1st Lord Glenconner ; assistant private secretary to Sir G. Trevelyan, 1892-5.
- Tennant, John ; third son of Sir Charles ; M.P. for Berwickshire ; secretary to Mr. Asquith, 1892-5.
- Tennant, Miss Margot ; later Mrs. Asquith ; daughter of Sir C. Tennant.
- Therry, R. ; editor of George Canning's speeches, etc.
- Thompson, Sir Henry Meysey-, Bart., afterwards 1st Lord Knarborough ; M.P. for Handsworth Division of Staffordshire.
- Thornycroft, Sir Hamo, R.A. ; the eminent sculptor.
- Thurlow, 5th Lord ; held many diplomatic appointments ; Paymaster-General, 1886.
- Trevelyan, Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto, Bart. ; author of *Macaulay's Life and Letters*, etc. ; held many offices ; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1882 ; Secretary for Scotland, 1892.
- Vernon, 7th Lord ; Captain of Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms.
- Villiers, Rt. Hon. Sir Francis ; secretary to Foreign Secretary, 1886 and again 1892-4 ; Diplomat. Afterwards Ambassador to Belgium.
- Waddington, M. ; the French Ambassador in London.
- Waldegrave, Countess ; widow of the 7th Earl ; she married four times, her last husband being Mr. Chichester Fortescue, afterwards Lord Carlingford.
- Wallop, Hon. John ; afterwards 7th Earl of Portsmouth.
- Walpole, Sir Spencer ; historian ; Governor of the Isle of Man, and afterwards Secretary to the Post Office, 1893.
- Waterford, 5th Marquess of.
- Welby, Sir Reginald Earle, afterwards Lord Welby ; Civil Servant with great knowledge of finance ; nearly contemporary with Sir A. West and his lifelong friend ; Permanent Secretary to the Treasury for seventeen years from 1855.

- Wernher, Sir Julius, 1st Bart.; head of Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co., the South African firm; owner of Bath House in Piccadilly.
- West, Horace; son of Sir A. West; private secretary to Mr. Asquith.
- West, Hon. Lionel Sackville, afterwards 2nd Lord Sackville; Ambassador to Spain, 1878-9, and U.S.A. 1881-8.
- Whitbread, Samuel; head of the brewing firm; M.P. for Bedford for forty-three years; Lord of the Admiralty, 1857-63; a trusted counsellor of Mr. Gladstone.
- Wilkinson, Rt. Rev. T. E.; Bishop of North and Central Europe.
- Wodehouse, E. H., C.B.; Commissioner of Inland Revenue.
- Wolf, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Drummond; Ambassador at Madrid; he was one of the members of the Fourth Party.
- Wolmer, Lord; eldest son of 1st Earl of Selborne; succeeded his father in 1895; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1900-5; High Commissioner of South Africa, 1905-10.
- Wolverton, the Dowager Lady; she had a house at Coombe, where Mr. Gladstone used sometimes to be her guest.
- Wood, Sir Charles, Bart., afterwards 1st Viscount Halifax; held many offices; succeeded Sir J. Graham at the Admiralty in 1885.
- Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George; held many Government offices.
- Yorke, Hon. Alexander; son of Earl of Hardwicke; Groom-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria.
- Young, Adam; Sir A. West writes of him as "a splendid type of the foremost of Civil Servants."



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